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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES

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The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

# THE JOURNAL

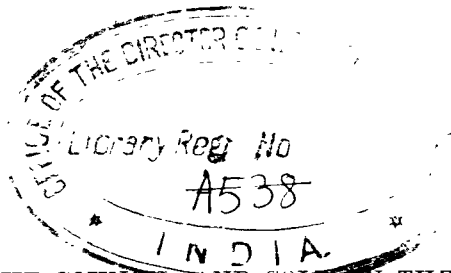
OF

# HELLENIC STUDIES

938.005

J. H. S.

VOLUME XI.



PUBLISHED BY THE COUNCIL, AND SOLD ON THEIR BEHALF

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# RULES

OF THE

## Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

---

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows:—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed

and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year ; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1 ; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

## RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY.

---

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c. as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M., when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions:—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows:—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.

(4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it.

(5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

(1) Unbound books.

(2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.

(3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

---

*The Library Committee.*

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---

SESSION 1890—1891.

General Meetings will be held in the Rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street, London, W., for the reading of Papers and for Discussion, at 5 P.M. on the following days :—

1890.

Monday, October 20.

1891.

Monday, February 23.

Monday, April 13.

Monday, June 22 (Annual).

The Council will meet at 4.30 p.m. on each of the above days.

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## SESSION OF 1889—90.

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**The First General Meeting** was held on October 21st, 1889, MR. SIDNEY COLVIN, Vice-President, in the chair.

MR. CECIL SMITH read a paper on an archaic Greek lekythos, recently presented to the British Museum by Mr. Malcolm Macmillan. It was, the writer said, undoubtedly the most beautiful and important specimen yet known of the so-called "proto-Corinthian" class of Greek vases. The form of the body was that of the lekythos, but this body was surmounted by the head of a lion, of which the open mouth formed the spout. The modelling of this head was so spirited as to suggest that the artist had studied it from the life; on another proto-Corinthian vase in Berlin was a realistic scene of a lion hunt; and this reminded one of the statement of Herodotus that in his day lions were still to be found in Macedonia and Northern Greece.—(*J.H.S. Vol. xi. p. 167.*)

MR. L. DYER, who had been with Mr. Macmillan in Thebes when the vase was bought in June, 1888, gave some account of the circumstances of the purchase.

MR. J. A. R. MUNRO gave an account of the recent excavations on the site of Arsinoe, in Cyprus. After briefly sketching the history of the excavation and topography of the site, he proceeded to deal with the tombs, which are of three main types: (1) One or more chambers opening independently on to a sloping, or perhaps sometimes perpendicular, shaft; (2) similar in all respects except that the sloping approach is replaced by a flight of steps; (3) of superior construction, with regular chambers opening one out of another, and a distinct type of niche. The first and second varieties seem scarcely to be kept apart, and form the bulk of the tombs from the earliest down to a comparatively late date; the third type is confined to the latest period. The difficulty in fixing the date of the various classes of antiquities was pointed out, and the contents of the tombs were described under the heads of stelæ and inscriptions, coarse or plain pottery, Cypriote fabrics, imported Greek wares, terracottas, jewellery, and glass, bronze, and miscellaneous objects. Particular

attention was given to the different kinds of Cypriote pottery, especially the jugs with figurines or animal heads, and to the Greek figured vases. The paper was illustrated by a representative collection of the products of the excavations, impressions of inscriptions, and a plan of the site.—(*J.H.S. Vol. xi. p. 1.*)

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**The Second General Meeting** was held on February 24th, 1890, MR. S. COLVIN, Vice-President, in the chair.

A paper was read by MR. E. GARDNER "On Children in Greek Sculpture of the Fourth Century." Mr. Gardner described and published a very interesting fragment of a *stèle* found at Lerna, and now in the museum at Argos, which presents us with a portrait of a boy, whose name is given in an accompanying inscription as Cephisodotus. This portrait so closely resembled the head of a boy recently found at Paphos, and now in the British Museum, that the two heads must, Mr. Gardner thought, belong to the same age and school. Some archæologists had attributed the Paphos boy to the Ptolemaic age; but as the date of the Cephisodotus *stèle* was certainly the fourth century, we must now allow it to be of the time of the Praxitelean school. Mr. Gardner showed that in that time children were not always conventionally rendered, but sometimes with an approach to naturalism.—(*J.H.S. Vol. xi. p. 100.*)

MR. A. J. EVANS cited a gem signed by Phrygillus, with a child driving a hoop, of about the age of Cephisodotus, and giving boyish proportions.

MR. FARNELL read parts of a paper "On Works of the Pergamene Style," in which he first gave an account of his researches among the miscellaneous sculptures from Pergamon now in Berlin, whence, no less than from the great altar, we should form our idea of Pergamene style; and, secondly, discussed a number of works in various museums which show traces of the influence of that style.—(*J.H.S. Vol. xi. p. 181.*)

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**The Third General Meeting** was held on April 14th, 1890, THE PROVOST OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD, Vice-President, in the chair.

MR. A. S. MURRAY read a paper on the Alkmene vase, formerly in Castle Howard, but recently acquired by the British Museum. Mr. Murray agreed in the main with Engelmann in interpreting the principal scene as representing Alkmene taking refuge on an altar to escape the wrath of Amphitryon on his return from the wars, Amphitryon and Antenor setting fire to a pyre erected in front of the altar, and Zeus, in answer to Alkmene's prayer, sending a violent storm to extinguish the fire, the rain

coming down from hydriæ in the hands of two figures, presumably Hyads. But he considered the date of the vase to be at least a century later than the time of Euripides, and on technical grounds he was inclined to refer its production to Southern Italy.—(*J.H.S. Vol. xi. p. 225.*)

MISS HARRISON, while accepting Mr. Murray's interpretation in the main, expressed some doubt as to the identification of the Hyads. She regarded the vase as a glorification of Alkmene, and a protest against the prominence of the Amphitruon element in the myth, which element she held to be of Theban, but certainly of non-Argive origin.

MR. WATKISS LLOYD added some words as to the myth in question, and conjectured that there was an attempt on this vase, as in some early Italian pictures, to represent in the same scene successive moments of time.

MR. P. NEWBERRY exhibited some funeral wreaths found by Mr. Flinders Petrie in the course of his excavations at Hawara in the Fayum, and read a paper upon them, partly descriptive of their character and composition, partly as illustrative of funeral customs among the Greeks.

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**The Annual Meeting** was held on June 23rd, 1890, SIR C. NEWTON Vice-President, in the chair.

Professor Jebb was elected President of the Society in place of the late Bishop Lightfoot.

Messrs. J. B. Bury, A. E. Haigh, F. Haverfield, H. Babington Smith, and R. Elsey Smith were appointed to fill vacancies on the Council.—The former Vice-Presidents and other officers were re-elected.

The HON. SECRETARY (Mr. G. Macmillan) read the following Report on the part of the Council.

THE Session now ended has been comparatively uneventful. In pursuance of the policy indicated in last year's Report, the Council has thought it wise this year also to refrain from extraordinary expenditure. The result has been to show once more a substantial balance, which should enable the Society to make in the ensuing Session occasional grants in aid of exploration and excavation.

Before however referring in detail to the work done in the past Session, the Council cannot omit to mention the loss sustained by the Society in the death of its first President, the late Bishop of Durham. Although the pressure of his official duties made it impossible for him to take any active part in the administration of the Society (he was only on one occasion able to preside at the Annual Meeting), the Bishop's interest in its operations was

keen and unceasing. That the Society itself was the gainer by having for its President a man so universally honoured for his remarkable gifts of scholarship, for his laborious and blameless life, cannot be doubted. On the death of Bishop Lightfoot, Sir Charles Newton was appointed under Rule 22 to act as President until the Annual Meeting. Members will be aware, from the voting-papers which have been sent out, that the Council have now nominated Professor Jebb to the vacant office. They look confidently to the confirmation of this choice by to-day's ballot, and if this anticipation is justified, they would congratulate the Society upon securing for its President so distinguished a representative of Hellenism in England.

Passing reference is due also to two other eminent members whom the Society has lost by death in the past year—Mr. Robert Browning, whose intimate acquaintance with old Greek life and thought is abundantly shown in his writings, and Mr. J. T. Wood, the untiring excavator, who restored to light the great temple of Diana at Ephesus. It is to be regretted that the lack of adequate funds prevented Mr. Wood from carrying out this important work so completely as he would have desired.

Turning now to the work of the Session, the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* naturally claims the first notice. Volume X., which was published complete, is fully equal to its predecessors, both in text and illustrations. Among the contents may be specially mentioned, in the department of archaeology, the second part of Professor Ramsay's 'Study of Phrygian Art'; Mr. Murray's paper on 'The Remains of an Archaic Temple of Artemis at Ephesus,' with a partial restoration from the existing fragments; a paper by Dr. Six, of Amsterdam, presenting a new view of the 'Composition of the Eastern Pediment of the Zeus Temple at Olympia'; Mr. Hicks's account of 'Inscriptions found by Mr. Bent at Casarea, Lydae, Patara and Mydae, in Asia Minor'; and Professor Michaelis's paper, specially instructive to English students, upon the Imperial German Archæological Institute. Papers on Vases were contributed by Professor Gardner, Mr. Murray, and Miss Harrison, and Mr. Tozer gave an account of the 'Greek-speaking Population of Southern Italy.'

The promise held out in last year's Report of rendering accessible to members copies of various series of photographs taken in Greece by amateurs has this session been fulfilled. Catalogues have been issued of photographs taken by the following members of the Society:—Messrs. J. T. Clarke, W. Covington, Louis Dyer and Malcolm Macmillan, Walter Leaf, and R. Elsey Smith. Complete sets of these photographs are on view in the Library, and there is reason to believe that their circulation has proved of real interest and value. It is hoped that in course of time other collections may be turned to account in the same way. The Council have the pleasure to announce that Mr. Stillman has kindly allowed enlargements to be made of some very beautiful photographs taken by him in Sicily. These will shortly be issued by the Autotype Company at the

same rate as the well-known series of Athenian photographs, together with a selection from Mr. Leaf's Greek views, which he has placed at the disposal of the Society in the same way. If these are well received it is hoped that enlargements may also be produced of some of the best prints in the other series referred to above, and possibly of some more of Mr. Stillman's views of Athens, the negatives of which are in the hands of the Society. This important part of the Society's work is engaging the constant attention of a Special Committee appointed by the Council. It has been arranged that the Autotype Co. shall pay to the Society a royalty on all copies of the enlargements sold to the general public. A small addition to the Society's income may therefore be looked for from this source.

In last year's Report it was pointed out that during the present Session the Council would have to consider the renewal of the annual grant of £100 to the British School at Athens. Originally the grant was made for three years. It has been decided to renew it for one year only, not with any intention of withdrawing further support from the School, but in order that the case may be considered on its merits year by year. It will be a satisfaction to members to know that the Session now drawing to a close has been the most successful that the School has yet held. The number of students admitted has been greater than in any previous year. Besides the work in Cyprus, which this year has been devoted to the site of Salamis, the School has, by arrangement with the Greek Government, undertaken important excavations on the site of Megalopolis, and has already laid bare great part of the plan of the theatre, which promises to throw much fresh light on the problem of theatre construction in Greece. For both these projects further funds will be required next season, and the Council will have to consider the question of making special grants towards their execution. Two of the students, Messrs. Schultz and Barnsley, have again been devoting much time and labour to the neglected subject of Byzantine Architecture in Greece, with results that are likely to be of the highest interest and value. Full particulars of the work of the School will be presented before long to the Annual Meeting of Subscribers, but enough has been said to show that in supporting it so far the Society has been fulfilling an obvious duty.

As the accounts will show, comparatively little has been spent this year upon the Library. The Council wish members to understand that as no regular sum is set apart for the purchase of books, they do not feel justified in spending much in this department unless it is shown to be the wish of the Society at large. Suggestions for the purchase of particular books will always be considered, and it is proposed to place in the Library a book in which members can enter the names of works which they think should be purchased. Not a few books come in now year by year which are sent by publishers with a view to their being noticed in the *Journal*. To the list of periodicals received in exchange for the *Journal*



have recently been added the *Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie* published by the French School at Rome.

A request was lately made to the Council to present to the Library of the University of Toronto the first eight volumes of the *Journal*, which had been destroyed in the fire. The circumstances being quite exceptional the Council felt justified in complying with the request.

The Treasurer's accounts show ordinary receipts during the year of £746 compared with £810 during the financial year 1888-9. The subscriptions show a falling off of £13, and the receipts from Libraries and for back volumes a decrease of £26. Excepting for a trifling decrease of £6 in respect of arrears, receipts from other sources were stationary. The sum of £100 was paid to the bankers by Mr. James Vansittart under circumstances which seemed to imply that the donor did not wish special publicity to be given to his donation. The Council have, however, to express their appreciation of this very liberal and acceptable addition to their funds. The advance made some years ago towards the cost of reproducing the Laurentian MS. of Sophocles has this year been entirely repaid, leaving to the credit of the undertaking some £19, with three copies still on hand.

In the matter of ordinary expenditure, the increasing value of the stock of *Journals*, and of the Library, has necessitated an increase of £8 in respect of its insurance, while the expenditure on the Library has been limited to £2 for binding. Stationery and printing show a reduction of £6. The cost of the *Journal* has been considerably less than usual, being £397 as compared with £436 during the preceding financial year, chiefly because it was published complete instead of in two parts, so that the cost of carriage was reduced. It will be remembered that in 1888-9, the *Journal* expenditure was augmented by a sum of £437 for reprinting Volumes IV. and V. The total ordinary expenditure has therefore been £636 as against £686. The loan of £100 borrowed from the bankers in 1888-9 has now been repaid, and the financial year, which began with a balance at the bankers of £42, closes with an effective balance in favour of the Society of £150 19s. This balance remains after making allowance for the grant of £100 to the School at Athens which, by an oversight, was not paid until after the close of the financial year. There are arrears amounting to £165, of which £45 have been received since May 31. The analysis of the annual receipts and expenditure since the foundation of the Society is appended.

Since the last Annual Meeting 50 members have been elected. On the other hand by death, resignation, or the removal from the list of defaulters of many years' standing, the Society has lost exactly the same number of members. The present total of members (including twenty Honorary Members) is 672. To the subscribers five Libraries have been added, bringing the total to ninety-three.

The least encouraging feature in this survey of the past Session is

that for the first time there has been no increase in the number of members. This has been partly due to the wholesale removal of some dozen or more members who were hopelessly behindhand with their subscriptions, and deaf to all appeals on the subject. But the ordinary diminution by death or resignation has this year exceeded the average of twenty-five given in last year's Report, while the supply of new candidates, though larger than last year, has only just sufficed to counteract this inevitable loss. Such a state of things can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. It is not enough for the Society to maintain its ground. What all members must wish is to see it growing steadily in numbers and influence, and thus year by year becoming better able to carry out the various objects which it has in view. But while thus once more inviting all members to use strenuous efforts in bringing in new candidates for admission to the Society, the Council feel that grateful acknowledgment is due to those gentlemen and ladies who have already succeeded in adding, sometimes on a large scale, to the number of members. In two cases of recent occurrence, as many as eight candidates were proposed at once, on each occasion by members of Council resident in Cambridge. Nor have similar efforts been wanting on the part of some Oxford members. More than once large accessions have resulted from archaeological lectures delivered in London by well-known lady members. If such examples as these were more widely followed by those whose office it is to inspire and to instruct, if every member were able even to make one proselyte a year, the resources of the Society would soon be such as to enable the Council to aid substantially all well directed efforts to extend, whether by research at home, or by exploration and excavation abroad, the bounds of knowledge in every department of Hellenic study.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by MR. F. W. PERCIVAL, the Report was unanimously adopted.

MR. E. GARDNER, Director of the British School at Athens, read parts of a paper on "Recent Archæology in Greece."—(*J.H.S. Vol. xi p. 210*)



A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of previous years is furnished by the following tables:—

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	June 1879 to 31 May, 1881.	31 May, 1882.	31 May, 1883.	31 May, 1884.	31 May, 1885.	31 May, 1886.	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.	31 May, 1890.
Subscriptions . . . . .	£ 1,328	£ 472	£ *539	£ *679	£ *540	£ 532	£ 537	£ 539	£ 545	£ 532
Arrears . . . . .	...	211	...	...	...	12	35	41	32	26
Life Compositions . . . .	...	...	...	...	115	10	95	79	47	47
Libraries and Back Vols	12	19	87	97	133	126	156	119	122	96
Dividends . . . . .	...	...	11	13	14	17	20	30	33	34
Special Receipts—										
Mr. Bent . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	...	...	...
Sir C. Nicholson . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	...	...
Laurentian MS. . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	53	31	11
Loan from Bankers . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	...
Donation—James Vansittart, Esq. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100
	1,340	702	687	783	802	697	838	861	910	846
Balance from preceding year	...	873	664	593	901	879	622	489	255	42
	1,340	1,575	1,351	1,782	1,703	1,576	1,510	1,350	1,165	888

\* Including arrears.

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	June 1879 to 31 May, 1881.	31 May, 1882.	31 May, 1883.	31 May, 1884.	31 May, 1885.	31 May, 1886.	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.	31 May, 1890.
Rent . . . . .	£ 15	£ 25	£ 12	£ 25	£ 25	£ 12	£ 42	£ 15	£ 30	£ 30
Insurance . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	3	2	3	5	13
Salaries . . . . .	16	20	10	10	20	23	41	46	39	39
Library . . . . .	33	11	5	44	3	...	4	41	15	2
Stationery, Printing, and Postage . . . . .	54	32	44	53	52	62	68	54	61	55
Cost of Journal (less sales).	347	383	284	592	574	482	412	583	*873	397
Grants . . . . .	...	50	...	50	†145	150	150	350	100	†100
Investments . . . . .	...	388	...	105	...	220	300	...	...	...
Loan Repaid . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	101
Sundries . . . . .	2	2	3	2	3	2	2	3	...	...
	467	911	358	881	824	954	1,021	1,095	1,123	737
Balance . . . . .	873	664	993	501	879	622	489	255	42	151
	1,340	1,575	1,351	1,782	1,703	1,576	1,510	1,350	1,165	888

\* Includes cost of reprinting of Vols. IV. and V. (= £437) less the amount received from sales.

† Includes advance of £95 for printing Sophocles MS.

‡ The grant of £100 to the School at Athens has been paid since the accounts were made up—see Cash Account.



## EXCAVATIONS IN CYPRUS, 1889.

SECOND SEASON'S WORK.—POLIS TES CHRYSOCHOU.—LIMNITI.

[PLATES III., IV., V.]

THE following account of the excavations conducted by Mr. E. A. Gardner, Mr. Tubbs, and myself in the spring of this year on behalf of the Cyprus Exploration Fund does not pretend to exhaust all the results of the enterprise. Many questions are raised which are not answered, and more problems are suggested than are solved. The reason is partly to be sought in the necessity, in view of coming engagements, of rapidly completing the account for publication. Time is lacking for prolonged search for parallels and collation of authorities, and the tardy arrival of the antiquities in this country, together with their need of much cleaning and mending, has robbed us of many opportunities for leisurely study of them. So far we may hope that the deficiencies will be speedily made good by supplementary elucidations from more experienced archaeologists, or by our own exertions in the future. But far more is the incompleteness due to the nature of the subject. Sufficient evidence to support general conclusions is scarcely available, and the sceptical distrust engendered by experience on the site has only grown with further reflection and investigation. Here we can only look to the progress of general and especially Cypriote archaeology. We are each of us solely responsible for the sections we have respectively undertaken, but hope that no irreconcilable views are expressed. The parts in this account are distributed thus:—

I. Preliminary Narrative.	}	J. A. R. MUNRO.
II. The Tombs.		
III. Contents of the Tombs.		
IV. Inscriptions.	}	H. A. TUBBS.
V. Limniti.		

J. A. R. MUNRO.

*Orford* : Nov. 1889.

E.S.—VOL. XI.

B

## I.—PRELIMINARY NARRATIVE.

The second season's work of exploration in Cyprus was a legacy of the first; both funds and site had been already provided. Mr. Hogarth, in his narrative of last year's operations, has already told<sup>1</sup> how he definitely concluded the agreement with Mr. J. W. Williamson, of which Mr. Gardner had first broached the terms, securing to the Committee of the subscribers to the Cyprus Exploration Fund certain rights and facilities to make excavations at Polis tes Chrysochou. A word of explanation as to this agreement is here called for. The large ancient necropolis at Polis tes Chrysochou, or more shortly and familiarly Poli, had been partially excavated during the season 1886-87 by a syndicate of English residents in Cyprus, of whom Mr. Williamson took the most active part. In proof of the success of the enterprise it is enough to refer to the objects acquired by the British and the Berlin Museums, and to the general account of the find published by Dr. Paul Herrmann under the title *Das Gräberfeld von Marion*.<sup>2</sup> It was fully intended to continue the excavation for another season on the untouched portions of the site. There seemed indeed ample room for a second equally extensive campaign. Only half of Mr. Williamson's own vineyard, whence came some of the best finds, had been explored, and he had bought the owners' rights<sup>3</sup> on a number of other parcels of ground contiguous to those already ransacked. But meanwhile an edict went forth from the Government of Cyprus prohibiting all excavations in the island save such as were conducted by public and scientific bodies. Mr. Williamson was thus left in possession of a number of rights of excavation which he was unable to exercise, and it was these rights which he, in consideration of a percentage of the value of the find, transferred to the Committee of the Fund by the agreement in question. He further agreed on the same terms to acquire at any reasonable price the rights on such other plots as might seem desirable, and in particular on the lands of the Poli Chiflik, which embrace the greater part of the site of the ancient city of Arsinoe. The Committee had reason to congratulate itself on the arrangement. At a very moderate cost a large site of proved value was at once available, and the co-operation of Mr. Williamson's local influence and experience might be trusted to secure all that was most promising, while the excavators would be relieved of the tedious and troublesome business of negotiation with the peasant and other proprietors. From the tombs might be expected a rich harvest of the products of the minor arts, and the Chiflik lands offered the prospect of discoveries on the temple sites of statuary and inscriptions, and an oppor-

<sup>1</sup> *J. H. S.* ix. pp. 151, 174.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin, 1888, where references are given to the previous literature, and to the principal objects in the museums. The abundant illustrations are an admirable feature of the publication. As regards the Pasiades alabastron it may be interesting to add that a similar vase

is said to have been found in a fragmentary condition. I do not know how far the description of it given me is accurate, but it might be worth while to track it down.

<sup>3</sup> For an explanation of 'rights of excavation' v. *J. H. S.* ix. p. 161 note.

tunity of testing the claim of Poli to represent not only Arsinoe but also the more ancient Marium.<sup>1</sup>

As regards funds, the cost of the first season's excavations had so far fallen below the estimate that there remained a surplus sufficient to carry on work for a considerable time at tomb-digging, and on an inexpensive site, so that it was unnecessary to harass the subscribers by a fresh appeal for money.

Site and funds being provided, there remained to find a competent and experienced director. This proved to be no easy matter, for none of the last year's excavators were available, and the supply of English classical archaeologists is still extremely limited. When, however, I left for Athens early in November, a satisfactory appointment appeared to have been made, and I was able to arrange to start from the Piraeus on January 2nd. But presently came the news that unfortunate difficulties had arisen, which had re-opened the whole question. Precious time was passing away, and the Committee was at length compelled to request Mr. E. A. Gardner, Director of the British School at Athens, again to undertake the task, which at considerable sacrifice of his personal convenience and the interests of the School, he consented to do. It was arranged that a short leave of absence should be granted to Mr. Gardner to enable him to start the excavation, which would then be left in charge of Mr. H. A. Tubbs, of Pembroke College, Oxford, who was Craven University Fellow, and myself, as students of the British School.

These preliminary difficulties over, matters moved more rapidly. Mr. Gardner wrote at once to His Excellency the High Commissioner of Cyprus, requesting permission to excavate at Polis tes Chrysochou. Leave was

<sup>1</sup> So far as Arsinoe is concerned the case is proved. Strabo, 683, places Arsinoe between the Acamas and Soli: *εἶτα πρὸς ἑω μετὰ τὸν Ἀκάμαντα πλοῦς εἰς Ἀρσινόην πόλιν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄλσος· εἶτα Σόλοι πόλις λιμένα ἔχουσα κ.τ.λ.* The Stadiasmus Maris Magni 309 is more precise: *Ἀπὸ Ἀκάμαντος ἔχων δεξιὰν τὴν Κύπρον εἰς Ἀρσινόην τῆς Κύπρου στάδιοι σὺ πόλις ἐστὶ λιμένα ἔχει ἔρημον· χειμάζει βορέου.* cf. Ptolemaeus V. 14. The learned editor of the *Geographi Graeci Minores* thinks the distance 70 stades is inaccurate, but according to the Government survey map Poli is, as the crow flies and as a ship would sail, almost exactly nine miles from the point of the Acamas. The evidence is clinched by the inscription 2781 in Le Bas and Waddington.

The claim for Marium is less irresistible, but very strong. The city was destroyed by Ptolemy Lagi (Diod. xix. 79). It seems to have been re-founded as Arsinoe, probably by Ptolemy Philadelphus (cf. Le Bas and Waddington, 2782, for Steph. Byz. remarks: *Ἀρσινόη· ἐβδόμη Κύπρου, ἡ πρότερον Μάριον λεγομένη.* and: *Μάριον, πόλις Κύπρου, ἡ μετονομασθεῖσα Ἀρσινόη.*

There were two or three cities of the name Arsinoe in the island, but that near Poli best suits Scylax 103, where Marium is named after Soli and before Amathus. Moreover, the Stad. Mar. Magn. 233 reads as emended: *Ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Χελιδονίων [ἐπὶ] Μάριον καὶ τὸ τῆς Κύπρου ἀκρωτήριον, τὸν Ἀκάμαντα, ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς τοῦ ἡλίου οὐριώτατα (εὐφύρῃ) στάδιοι, αὐ' κ.τ.λ.* where the MS. has *Μάραι καὶ τὸ τῆς Κυπρίας ἕκρας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκάμαντα.* The objection to the emendation is that Marium was destroyed nearly three centuries before the date to be assigned to the source of this part of the Stadiasmus, but the paragraph 233 bears every mark of having been inserted by the compiler from some other authority. Again, the archaeological evidence shows that there was a settlement here considerably older than Arsinoe, and thoroughly bears out the character attributed to Marium by Scylax's epithet *Ἑλληνίς*. Dr. Herrmann goes farther, and attempts to identify a separate site for the earlier and later foundations, but his ingenious argument is based on untrustworthy information and erroneous preconceptions, v. *J. H. S.* x. pp. 281-2.



promptly granted, and the answer reached Athens on January 26. By the next boat, on February 1, Mr. Gardner and I left the Piræus, and landed at Larnaca on the 6th, where we were hospitably received by Mr. C. D. Cobham. A day in Larnaca sufficed to look up the tools and order stores. Gregorios Antoniou, the foreman of last year's work, whose proverbial skill at tomb-digging and experience of our site during Mr. Williamson's excavations were sure to be of great service to us, had been already engaged by letter from Athens. He was now sent with the tools, &c., in a caique to Limassol, with instructions to load them on mules and proceed with all despatch to meet us at Poli. Mr. Gardner and I went up to Nicosia, and the next day was spent in providing for the appointment of a Government overseer and in final preparations.

On the morning of the 9th we bade farewell to civilization, as we turned our mules on to the track towards Morphou. The night was passed in a farmstead at Karavostasi, and next morning, while the mules were being saddled, we had a few moments' leisure to devote to the harbour of the neighbouring ancient city of Soli.<sup>1</sup> The line of the harbour seems clearly traceable in the green bank which bounds a tract of low marshy land on three sides, the fourth being separated from the sea only by the beach of shingle. At either projecting horn at the limits of the marsh appears in the water, and extending underneath the shingle, what at first sight looks like a line of rocks, but which we satisfied ourselves could be nothing else than the remains of the ancient moles at the port's mouth.

From Karavostasi until after passing the promontory of Pomos, the rough bridle-track runs, or rather crawls, through rugged picturesque country, now skirting the cliffs along the shore, now mounting steeply inland, only to descend with equal abruptness into the next valley. About two hours' ride brought us to the Limniti valley, and we looked with interest, although at some distance, on the reputed temple-site, as a possible field for future operations. It was already dusk by the time we reached the welcome shelter of Mr. Williamson's house at Limni, within five miles of Poli. At Limni, in a narrow valley among the hills, are extensive ancient copper mines. A company was formed several years ago to take up the working of them afresh. The enterprise was not successful, but we profited by it indirectly on more than one occasion, in being able to get mining-lamps and tools of which we stood in need, even in this the most remote and least civilized corner of the island.

A half-empty house in the village of Poli, into which we effected a forcible entry in the owner's absence, inducing the inhabitants of the courtyard sheds by bribery or eviction to seek quarters elsewhere, furnished lodging and storage room; and within two days we were settled there with all our belongings. On the 13th the Commissioner of Papho, Mr. H. Thompson, with great promptitude rode over and assigned us our boundaries,

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<sup>1</sup> (cf. Strabo, *loc. cit.* and Scylax 103 : *κὴ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως* (Soli) *λιμένα ἔχει χειμερινόν*. The Stad. Mar. Magn. 311 (here three centuries later than Strabo) speaks of Soli as *πόλις ἀλιμένος*.

so that on the morning of the 14th, or within thirteen days of leaving Athens, we were able to begin digging.

We were disappointed to find on our arrival that Mr. Williamson's negotiation with the owners of the Chiflik still hung fire. The fault was not his, or the intelligent Turk's who acted as estate agent, and would have made a handsome sum by the conclusion of the bargain, but the failure was mainly owing to the number and dispersion of the owners. To bring sixteen proprietors to an agreement, all of them absentees, and the more important resident away in Constantinople, would be no easy task even in the West. Perhaps some light is also thrown on the motives, so to speak, of their delay, by the fact that towards the end of the season Mr. Williamson was sounded as to his willingness to undertake the supervision of an excavation on the Chiflik lands conducted by the Ottoman government. The agent at Poli might, indeed, have been persuaded to conclude a contract with us on his own responsibility, but it was practically certain that, were any valuable discoveries made, the legality of the proceeding would be afterwards called in question. So far therefore as the site of the city was concerned, there was nothing to be done, and little to be hoped for. Our regret was not very acute. The site is, on the surface of it, far from attractive—a wilderness of loose stones, one or two fragments of late plastered walls, a massive marble block or two marking the temple-site whence General di Cesnola is said to have carried off a large inscription,<sup>1</sup> and a mound of slag from the copper mines thickly overgrown with asphodel; nowhere an indication of anything earlier than the Ptolemaic period,<sup>2</sup> and only in the hollows, I should think, any considerable depth of earth. There remained the more tempting tracts of tombs, and in particular, most coveted of all, the undisturbed half of the vineyard. It was in the vineyard accordingly, which bears the auspicious name of *Εύπερή*, that on the morning of February 14 we began work.

Some idea of the topography of the district is necessary to the comprehension of the course of the excavations (see Pl. III.). The broad sweeping curve of the Bay of Chrysochou is the last indentation towards the west in the north coast of Cyprus. It is flanked on either side by ranges of rugged hills, which extend on the east to the promontory of Pomos, and on the west jut boldly out in the lofty headland of the Acamas. Between the hills stretches what, although broken by minor undulations, may be called a valley, several miles in breadth. The central section of this valley is embraced between the Poli

<sup>1</sup> The General's operations at Poli seem to have been of the slightest, v. *Cyprus*, pp. 226-7. He contrives, however, to set the village on the wrong bank of the river. I can find no mention of any inscription taken from the neighbourhood.

<sup>2</sup> Wandering over the site on Feb. 13 I picked up near a remnant of wall foundation just south of the temple-site the inscribed fragment No. 18 below. There is plenty of the same red and white streaky-baen stone lying

around. Mr. Tubbs places the inscription in the early part of the 6th century B.C., but I cannot rid myself of the impression—shared by others who have seen the stone or a squeeze from it—that it is more probably of late Roman date. The circumstances of its discovery certainly point in this direction, for the stone lay loose on the surface among miscellaneous rubbish, which included a fragment of Roman mosaic pavement and other congruous objects.

river on the west and a lesser stream distant rather over a mile to the east. Between these two streams lay the whole field of our operations. There were indeed reported to be tombs across the river near the hamlet of Prodrumi, but as from all we could hear they were neither numerous nor valuable, there was nothing to tempt us over to try them. Between the streams rise gradually from the low land near the sea three flat-topped ridges.<sup>1</sup> Broken here and there by narrow gaps, they mount gently upwards, until they culminate about two miles inland, the two western in the striking triangular hill on the shoulder of which stands the ruined chapel of Hagia Varvara, the third in a similar height farther to the east. On the westernmost of the three ridges, overlooking a bend of the river, and about three quarters of a mile from the sea, lies the village of Poli. To the north and extending eastward from the river along the roots of the rise is the site of the ancient city. It seems to have stretched inland into the shallow depression which separates the southernmost houses of the village from Kaparga, but the main lie of the site is from west to east, and in this direction it is clearly marked nearly as far as the end of the central ridge. A seemingly detached group of house foundations was discovered in 1886-7, near the north-west corner of the vineyard. Herr Richter is prepared to vouch<sup>2</sup> for their bearing 'an essentially older character' than the *débris* of Arsinoë, but from particular inquiries on the point I learnt that they were of the very poorest construction, exactly resembling the foundations of a modern Cypriote village, supposing the mud upper walls had crumbled away. We discovered precisely similar walls in the opposite direction on sites *C* and *D*. So far as they can be said to have any character at all, it appears to be of the very latest. Herr Richter seems here, as elsewhere, to have allowed himself to be misled in the interests of a preconceived theory.

The tombs lie in two divisions, on the eastern and on the western ridge: the central rise, so far as present knowledge goes, contains not one. While it is easy to explain why no tombs are to be found in the deeper looser soil of the intervening hollows, their absence on this ridge seems singular, and had our operations elsewhere been sufficiently productive to counterbalance the expenditure, I should have liked to bring the matter to the test of actual experiment. It was the eastern necropolis that had been the principal scene<sup>3</sup> and most valuable quarry of the former excavations, and within its limits, as a reference to the plan will show, lies the famous vineyard, distant a good three quarters of a mile from Poli (Site *V*).

It was thought prudent to start with a small number of hands, to be afterwards increased should experience justify an addition. Digging was accordingly begun with six men and six women, picked out from a crowd of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the accompanying plan.

<sup>2</sup> *V. Das Graberfeld von Marion*, pp. 7 and 12.

<sup>3</sup> The figures quoted by Dr. Herrmann show 261 tombs opened in the eastern, to 180 in the western necropolis. He accordingly sets down

the former as the more extensive, rather rashly in view of his admission in the next sentence that the limits of neither had been reached. Our figures, added to the above, leave a balance of about 50 on the side of the western, but still neither necropolis is completely worked out.

candidates. Gregori was full of confidence, and pointing here and there to the spots, only a few yards off, where this or that treasure had been found, encouraged us to expect the like again—*‘χρυσάφια πολὺ καλὰ, κόσας μὲ ἱστορίας, plenty, πέτρας μὲ γράμματα Κυπριωτικὰ, plenty, plenty.’*

But St. Valentine was unpropitious; no tombs were opened that day, and we returned home, trying to comfort ourselves with the hope that the graves lay deep, that Gregori had not yet got into their disposition, and that to find with difficulty was to find undisturbed. Some slight consolation came with the tidings from the village *café* that there was in the stair of a neighbouring house a new inscription, which proved to be in Cypriote character (No. 13, below), and was subsequently traced to a tomb half excavated by the previous explorers, whence we afterwards extracted the companion inscription (No. 14). The next day was equally unproductive, the only discovery being a subterranean aqueduct, at a depth of about twenty feet from the surface. It measured some four feet in height by two in breadth. We explored it to a considerable distance in either direction, until checked by shafts full of stones, similar to that whereby we had entered. Our predecessors had also come upon it by another shaft lower down, and it seems to run towards the houses already mentioned at the north-west corner of the vineyard. The little niches made perhaps by the diggers to hold their lamps were still visible.

On the 16th we were joined by H. A. Tubbs, but he brought little or no luck with him. One tomb was opened, but contained only three coarse jugs and a small bronze vessel with lid. One or two holes which looked promising ended abruptly in solid rock. They were false casts either of tomb-makers or tomb-breakers.

The vineyard had now been sufficiently probed to show that the previous excavators had, without knowing it, exactly reached the utmost limit of the tombs. It was our only site in the eastern necropolis, and our experience of it was enough to scare us away from that quarter for some time to come. Indeed the ground both to the north and south had been fairly covered by the former diggings, and it was not until long afterwards that we discovered that there still remained an untried site at a short interval on the southern side.

So, with the beginning of the new week, on February 18, our work was transferred to the western ridge, south or south-east of the village. Gregori was given a free hand among our sites, and selected a courtyard where the aqueduct<sup>1</sup> crosses the Chrysochou road, a few minutes' walk from the end of the main street of the village. From the remains of an oven in the courtyard the site became known to us as 'the oven site.' In this courtyard, the smaller yard of the next house, and a small waste patch across the branch road to the east, work was carried on from the 18th to the 26th, and nineteen productive tombs were opened. They were distinguished in our register by Roman capital letters, A to T, it being our intention to adopt a different notation for each site to save double marking. But the system was speedily abandoned

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<sup>1</sup> Not, of course, the subterranean aqueduct which comes from Chrysochou. above referred to, but the modern water-course

in the interests of our foreman, who could read numerals but not letters, and the latter were afterwards reserved for sites, while the tombs were simply numbered.

Although here again notable finds had been made by our predecessors only a few yards off, the site proved a disappointing one. The tombs were poorly hewn, small, and shallow, the contents miscellaneous, but not for the most part of high quality. Included were most of the staple classes of objects, pottery in a great variety of styles native and imported, terra-cottas, glass, cheap jewellery, mirrors, strigils, knives, alabastra, &c. The most interesting finds were perhaps a small female terra-cotta head, of better type and workmanship than the ordinary (*A*), two inscriptions in the Cypriote syllabary (*F* and *K*, Nos. 1 and 2), the fragments of a Cypriote capital (*N*), a jug and plate or basin of the very effective Cypriote variety with elaborate leaf and other patterns in deep purple-brown on the ruddy natural ground of the clay (*S*), a lecythus with a light-red band left round the black body, and on it a degenerate cable pattern (*S*), and a pair of pretty glass cups (*H*). The best tomb of the site, *S*, had been rifled, and the fragments of the jug and plate were found scattered broadcast through it, some emerging one day, some another. Several other tombs had apparently been robbed. In the shaft of one (*Q*) was found a Turkish copper coin, bearing the date 1255 of the Mahommedan era (1838 A.D.). In the shaft of *L* had been constructed what seemed a later sepulchral chamber, walled and floored with stone. *F* was remarkable for its layers of skeletons, one above another, but neither the occupants nor their paraphernalia bore traces of any violent disturbance apart from that caused by the fall of the inscribed stone block found in the centre of the chamber. With the possible exception of *S*, there seems nothing to lead us to date any of these tombs,<sup>1</sup> at least in the state in which we found them, earlier than the end of the 4th century B.C.: the majority one would naturally set down as Ptolemaic, some few even as Roman.

A curious incident enlivened our departure from this site, of which those who busy themselves with primitive systems of kinship may make what they please. It was our practice, when filling in our shafts, to allow the owner of the site to rescue for his own use any blocks or slabs of stone from the doors of tombs, &c., which proved to be without inscriptions. Now the owner of the patch across the side road happened to be away, and two men appeared, each claiming to be his nearest representative. Both brought up bodies of supporters, and the dispute threatened to develope into a free fight. The claimants were at last induced to submit to arbitration, and the controversy then resolved itself into the question whether preference were to be given to kinship traced to the owner's grandfather or grandmother.

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<sup>1</sup> Individual objects may of course be earlier, *e.g.* the very incomplete Cypriote capital, found in dispersed fragments in the shaft of tomb *N*, and much of the pottery might be of almost any date. I know no cogent reason for separating the two inscriptions from the other contents of

the tombs in which they were found. *B*, a virgin tomb, and apparently Ptolemaic, produced a cup and a lamp, with two symbols from the syllabary scratched upon it. Cypriote inscriptions with fully-developed apices are, I believe, known.

On February 25 Mr. Gardner left us, and on the 26th we began work on a slight rise, two or three hundred yards to the east of the oven site, known as Kaparga (site K). It forms part of one branch of the western ridge, which is here split into two by a shallow depression. Four days—February 26 to March 1—sufficed to exhaust the small plot, yielding seven tombs, over which alone we had rights. The result was distinctly more encouraging than our finds hitherto, but as we subsequently returned to much more extensive operations on this site, an account of it may be for the moment deferred.

One or two additions had already been made to the number of our work-people. The tombs had proved less easy to find, to open, and to work, than we had expected, nor were their contents as a rule such as made close and continuous watching necessary. Fresh hands were therefore gradually put on, until the limit of our available tools was even exceeded, and we had at last to order picks of the village smith, buy spades of Mr. Williamson, and send to Larnaca for more baskets. At no time, however, did the number of hands employed exceed thirty men and twenty-four women, this being the maximum over which we found we could, with our limited staff and the necessity of often working on several sites at once, exercise efficiently the supervision and control so important in tomb-digging. When, therefore, a deputation of the notables of the village waited upon us with the request that we should find work for 'the unemployed,' whom they represented as sitting in abject misery about the *καφενέλιον*, there were perhaps further reasons than a lack of tools for our inability to accede to their petition. Sitting round the *café* there were in fact plenty of unemployed persons to be found, but they generally bore their leisure with a light heart. Poverty is seldom hopeless under a Cypriote sky.

It may here be mentioned that the diggers are divided into spade-men and knife-men. The spade-man is the unskilled labourer, who clears the shaft and shovels the accumulated earth out of the tomb. Women are posted at the top of the shaft to draw it up out of the way. The knife-man needs some training and experience. He has to do the delicate work of extracting the vases, &c., from the lower layers of soil. He often acquires extraordinary lightness of hand, and is thoroughly to be depended upon to recognize the objects on which he comes from the first corner that shows, and work accordingly. In the slack season before harvest we paid our spade-men at the rate of six copper piastres (eightpence) a day; the knife-men seven piastres to a shilling; and the women four piastres. We avoided all stripping and searching of the men. No doubt we were to some extent robbed, but that was in any case inevitable, and it is very doubtful whether the searching is worth the irritation and lack of confidence entailed.

The men were generally glad to have us sitting down with them in the tombs, and proud of exhibiting their skill, and the offer of a cigarette of 'English' tobacco not a little facilitated the establishment of amicable relations. But it is a sound practical rule not to send two 'pals' to work the same tomb, and where the find is valuable a stricter watch must be kept. Trifling rewards for the more precious objects safely got out also stimulate

zeal and encourage honesty. It is obvious from what has been said that the excavators are tied all day to their site, and rambling exploration becomes almost impossible.

Let us, then, return to our excavations. On February 27 we had already labourers enough to begin rough work on the hill south of Kaparga. The hill is a remarkable one. It is separated from Kaparga by a break of the breadth of a stone's throw, through which runs the road to the east before mentioned, but from Hagia Varvara by a considerable gap. Its east and south sides are very steep; the west is more accessible, and is skirted by the Chrysochou road. On the very summit, on the verge, that is to say, of the southern bluff, is a threshing-floor, formed partly of the bare rock, partly of foundations of walls and squared stones. Here doubtless stood the chapel of Hagios Demetrios, whose name the hill bears, and here I picked up a fragment of marble with Byzantine carving. The top is so bare that there can be little or nothing remaining there beyond what is visible to the eye. The ruins of the chapel, or any earlier building that may have existed, are probably buried in the deep soil at the foot of the slope. Hagios Demetrios was a site extensively worked by the previous excavators; there remained to us only the upper part of its sloping back, immediately north of the threshing-floor. Again we came in for what was little more than a gleaning after harvest. Tombs there were, but they seemed to lie uniformly in a narrow fringe, two or three deep, along the line of the former diggings. We opened twenty-four productively between the 1st and 9th of March, and for its size the site was a fairly successful one. Distinctly late tombs were rare. Upon one of them we came in an unexpected fashion: a workman was engaged in clearing a tomb when the ground suddenly gave way beneath him, and he found himself standing in a second grave at a lower level; the later diggers had run their work close under an earlier cavity. So plentiful was the supply of the small black-glazed vessels with and without impressed patterns, especially from the first line of tombs on the east side, that this might be termed the black-glazed site *par excellence*. Many of these vases, commonplace enough in themselves, derive interest from the letters, now Greek, now Cypriote,<sup>1</sup> scratched underneath them. Native fictile wares rather retreated into the background, but the fragments of the very effective variety with purple-brown patterns on orange-red or ochre ground were comparatively numerous, and one fine specimen of the class was found practically intact (Tomb 8). One grave, which contained the skeletons probably of a man and his wife, one on each side of the door (Tomb 10), was rich in jewellery, among which was an engraved scarab (Fig. 1), and a pair of silver-plated bracelets, each finished off with two gilt rams' heads—a pretty piece of work (Pl. V. No. 1). Two tombs yielded well-preserved bronze objects. In the one (22) was found also a fragment of the rim of a large red-figured crater, with olive-leaf border and the crown of the head of a figure just showing, bound with a white fillet or taenia—two other pieces of rim, which might almost

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<sup>1</sup> To find both in the same tomb is not uncommon. Sometimes the inscription is bigraphic, e.g.  $\odot E$  and  $\tau\epsilon$  (7),  $\Delta I$  and  $\tau i$  (K. 45).

have come from the same vase, turned up in another shaft ten yards off. The other tomb (2), in which was a large bronze spear-head and an elegant little bronze palmette, was sown with small fragments of what proved to be two red-figured vases, with white and gold additions, of the finest fourth century style. One of them is figured on Pl. IV. The fragments, as numerous as they are tiny, were to be found in every corner of the tomb, and seemed to have no particular connection with the other contents, so that we have probably to recognize one more instance of the repeated use of early tombs in a later period. For a week or more half a dozen women were kept sifting the soil constantly shovelled out to them, and keenly competed for the half-piastres we promised for each bit recovered. At the end of that time the pillar left to support the roof had become much attenuated, and the tomb was no longer safe. We had thoughts of shoring it up, but it settled the matter by collapsing, when the scanty chance of being able to complete, or much add to, either of the vases did not seem adequate to the large labour of clearing it again.

It was about this time that information was brought to us of what was described as an ancient statue with an inscription, that had been found at Androlikou, about an hour's ride into the hills to the west. Accordingly, one Sunday afternoon, we rode over to inspect it. The 'ancient statue' proved to be a Byzantine saint, rudely engraved on a fragment of an unfluted column of greyish blue marble, with a superscription. There was evidently an ancient settlement at Androlikou, and tombs are occasionally discovered there. We found that one had recently been opened, but it seems to have contained nothing of any importance.

Hagios Demetrios seeming to be practically exhausted, on March 9 a fresh cast was made on the other side of the oven site, in the bend of the aqueduct. This site, marked *A* on the plan, is really a continuation of the oven site, which in the general quality of the tombs it much resembled. The black-glazed ware so prominent on Hagios Demetrios here occupied only a secondary place, plain and Cypriote pottery forming the staple of the find. Although the ordinary products were thus poor and probably late, the site indulged us in occasional welcome surprises and curiosities. The first tomb yielded a red-figured cotyle of careless late style with four figures, two on each side; the workman unfortunately coming on it unawares smashed it with his pick. In another tomb hard by (*A.* 6) was found a sadly broken early red-figured lecythus, with a representation of a woman performing some sacred office at an altar. With it were found a pair of archaic little terra-cotta statuettes. A black-figured cylix from another quarter of the site (*A.* 15) displays the minute figures on the outside of the rim in vogue towards the close of the black-figured period. A Cypriote platter with a black-figure Sphinx in the centre (*A.* 7), and the fragments of a large Cypriote jar bearing in the native syllabary the painted inscription *ὁ παῖς καλὸς* (*A.* 21, No. 1 of section on vase inscriptions) are without a parallel among our finds. In one hole, which seemed to have been a tomb (*A.* 10), perhaps lined or faced with masonry, among a number of architectural fragments were found the in-



scriptions No. 10 and No. 19, but the other contents were limited to a couple of coarse jugs and a few chips of pottery. As a whole the site may be set down as an early one taken up again and much used for burial in a quite late age. It was divided among three proprietors with whom we had considerable differences of opinion on the price to be paid for their crops. Thus whereas both ends of the site were excavated between March 9 and 15, the middle was left until the 30th, and only finished on April 5. There were opened in all twenty-seven productive tombs.

About the time when site *A* was started it began to become evident that we were likely ere long to run short of sites. So on Sunday, March 10, we took with us Gregori and Mr. Williamson's agent, who was frequently of service to us from his knowledge of boundaries and 'accidental' finds, as they were often perhaps euphemistically termed, and made a tour of inspection round the plots over which we had rights. The result was alarming. There proved to be but one small patch in reserve on which tombs were to be found, and we had at once to consider what rights it would be desirable to acquire. The considerable field offered for excavation by the hill Kaparga, on which we had already opened one or two interesting tombs, at once suggested itself, but it also occurred to us that there might be yet undisturbed parts of the eastern necropolis, and this idea, coinciding with a desire to investigate the half-cleared tomb to which we had traced the inscription in the stair, led us to extend our tour in that direction. The tomb was easily identified, half of the *μνημα* from which the inscription had been taken remained exposed, and groping in the interior of the chamber I discovered by aid of a match the companion inscription which we subsequently dug out. We learnt that there was a small corner of field just at this point (site *M*) which had not been touched, the brilliant discoveries in the vineyard having drawn the excavators off. There also seemed to be a row of tombs along the eastern edge of the hollow at this point, but they lay under a fine crop of wheat, and the finds hereabouts had been uniformly poor, so that we scarcely thought it worth while to bargain for them—those on the opposite side, fringing Herr Richter's 'older settlement,' had proved to be Roman. We failed on this visit to realize the existence of any virgin site on the southern side of the vineyard.

Mr. Williamson was away at Limassol, but I at once wrote to acquaint him with the state of affairs, namely that our remaining sites could scarcely outlast the week. Meanwhile site *A* was proceeded with so far as the crop had been purchased, and on the afternoon of Thursday the 14th a start was made on our last resource, part of site *B* on the map. The site lies at the entrance to the village, between the south end of the main street and the first cross street to the west. The part originally secured for us was that farthest back from the main street, on each side of the parallel back street, and consisted of a plot of corn on the slope of the ridge and a patch of nettles on the top. The former proved to contain no tombs. There was little to occupy us here, so negotiations were opened with the respectable blind Turk who owned the greater part of the coveted Kaparga, and with one of our men who had in conjunction with two partners planted his plot, the southernmost

portion of site *B*, with potatoes, in which they professed an inordinate pride. A compromise was also arrived at with the middle owner of site *A*, who was allowed to secure his corn for cattle. The partners in the potato crop could not agree among themselves, and the Turk was also troubled with a partner who owed him money, and was unwilling to sell the wheat which afforded him security were the debt not paid when due, before harvest. By Saturday afternoon it was difficult to find work to occupy our people, and the spare hands were sent off to the north beyond the church to the little site *W*, not because we expected to find a tomb there, but because being practically upon the edge of the ancient town they might chance to hit upon something. They did hit upon a series of large squared blocks of stone, which looked like the foundation of a wall (whence the *W*), but to this we shall return later.

By Monday the middle of site *A*, and in case of need the corner north of the vineyard, were available, but the weather, which had once or twice before compelled us to knock off work an hour or two before sunset, was so bad that none save subterranean operations could be carried on, and in this line there was still something left to do under the nettle-bed. Soon after mid-day Mr. Williamson turned up with a contract for part of Kaparga in his pocket. The Turk also was at last persuaded to sell, and although he wept for his wheat as he pocketed the price, I do not think he lost anything by the bargain. A large, but as it proved unproductive, site across the main street was now speculated in (site *C*), a dung-hill adjoining the nettle-bed was acquired, and eventually the potato syndicate came to terms. From scarcity we passed in a few days to superfluity.

On March 19 we transferred our operations to Kaparga, but returned to work on site *B* from March 29 to April 6. Since we have touched on the site it may be as well to say here what there is to be said about it. The small central courtyard garden still remained to be secured. It is owned by a poor woman with husband and family, but as she firmly believed that her father had buried a pot of gold in it, there was some difficulty in persuading her to let us dig there. It was only after repeated assurances that we wanted not gold but antiquities, and by pointing out to her the rare opportunity of recovering the treasure through our means, that her reluctance was overcome. If ever there was any gold buried in the yard, it still remains, but this little plot yielded us one of our finest vases, the red-figured cotyle with a single figure on each side, of the sparsely represented period of transition from stiffness to freedom (*B. 12*). This vase was found in two separate groups of fragments, but none of it is missing. With it was found a pretty well-executed lamp shaped like a duck, red with the plumage etc. indicated in fine black glaze drawn with firm delicate lines. Another tomb in this yard (*B. 11*) produced among a multitude of other objects two white lecythi with black-glazed patterns, the one an ivy branch, the other three finely drawn palmettes. The site as a whole, although divided among several proprietors, was but a small one, and only sixteen tombs were discovered. Yet the average quality of the find was higher than usual. One tomb (*B 4*) was very prolific in all sorts of

objects : among them was a red-figured *askos* with Satyr and bull of very fair style, indeed the best we found of the very numerous little vases of the class, a pretty little gold earring with winged Eros, a signet ring of opaque white glass (the seal unfortunately missing), etc. The first object found on the site was a notable one (*B. 1*), the upper part of a marble sepulchral stele (*Fig. 2*) representing a bearded man wrapped in his *himation*. The stone is covered with scratched inscriptions, over which we long sat with glasses in our eyes, with the result that after a hard morning's work we had not agreed



FIG. 2.

upon the reading of the first word. Perhaps when the marble is properly cleaned and more powerful magnifiers are brought to bear on it we may be able to make more of the inscription. Another Cypriote inscription (*B. 12* No. 12) and a fragment of a second (*B. 4* No. 11) were also turned out on this site.

During the last two or three days of March the neighbouring site *C* on the other side of the street was tried, but without success. The earth proved

to be deep, and near the surface were found walls of poor construction, built *λογηδόν* of unsquared stones, like the house foundations of a modern Cypriote village.

To revert to Kaparga, it has been already related that a small corner was excavated between February 26 and March 1; we came back to the site on March 19, and continued to work there on a larger or smaller scale right on until April 10. From first to last sixty-eight productive tombs were opened and a very large quantity of objects of every description secured. The tombs were of all types and sizes, and included examples of the earliest and latest dates. Several produced interesting specimens of early black-figured pottery (*K.* 21, *K.* 33, *K.* 48), one virgin chamber (*K.* 48) yielding a particularly good set. The red-figured vases were mostly of poor style, but included some pretty little *aski*, and an early cylix with Gorgoneion in the centre (*K.* 4). Two tombs produced one or two minute porcelain objects (*K.* 1, *K.* 4), one a variegated enamelled glass bottle (*K.* 2), a fourth an elegant limestone capital of slender form and carved in long narrow leaves (*K.* 29). Seven Cypriote sepulchral inscriptions were found (Nos. 3 to 9), besides a great number of black-glazed vessels with symbols scratched upon them. Curious, although not beautiful, are two fragments of terra-cotta plaques, from the side of the couches of the common recumbent figures, with figures in relief (*K.* 8, *K.* 63). The jewellery was mostly commonplace, but included a little gold pendant in the form of a double Sphinx *en face* (*K.* 28, Pl. V. No. 7), two or three small square silver plates, probably from a bracelet, with two embossed female busts on each (*K.* 67), and a massive gold ring with signet stone, unfortunately not engraved (*K.* 30). The ring came from a tomb in a layer of shingly sand, which crops up in the site and gave us much trouble; Gregori was justly proud of having divined its existence. It was impossible to prevent the sides from continually falling, and the knife-man who was sent down when the sarcophagus at the bottom was reached refused to remain. We then descended ourselves and opened the sarcophagus, into which H. A. Tubbs crawled and secured the ring and a silver coin of Alexander the Great (Pl. V. No. 13), its only contents. Another tomb (*K.* 50) excited our interest from its extraordinary construction (a plan of it is given in the next section), but it contained only fourteen bronze coins and two Roman lamps besides broken glass and a chip or two of black-glazed ware.

Before the end of March we foresaw that unless some fresh important site were acquired our excavation would be at an end by the middle of April. Of sites that would be worth trying we could discover only two, for the Chiflik negotiation had never advanced a step. First there was the field lying along the eastern side of site *A* and separated from it only by the aqueduct. It had been partially excavated already in 1886-7, was not very extensive, and probably shared the general character of its neighbour. This field was owned by our old acquaintance the blind Turk, and bore a flourishing crop of wheat, for which he demanded a good price. We decided that its excavation was hardly likely to repay the cost. The second site was that to the south of the vineyard to which allusion has already been made. We

missed it on our first tour, but heard of it afterwards and paid a special visit to investigate its character. It is a field of considerable extent, separated from the vineyard by a hollow in which excavations had been tried by our predecessors with little or no success. The field is traversed by a slight depression down the middle, on the east it gently rises on to a tract of uncultivated ground which we had already gone over without finding any clue to lead us to suppose there were tombs—indeed the ground here seems to correspond to the unproductive half of the vineyard, a reddish soil instead of the more compact yellow formation. On the west our field rises to the top of an undulation, on the other side of which lies another little dip. Over this farther dip our predecessors had dug, and found one or two valuable tombs containing vases signed by Hermaeus and by Kachrylion. Mr. Williamson however did not until he came to look at the site remember that any part hereabouts had been left untried. We had on our first prospecting walked across the corner of the excavated field and along the barren hollow on the north side on to the barren rise to the east, thus missing the promising tract between, which was covered with a rising crop of wheat. I was particularly pleased with the lie of the site, which continues the line of the best part of the vineyard, but Mr. Williamson shook his head over our chances of getting hold of it. The owner is one of the richest Turks of the neighbourhood, a man difficult to deal with and independent of considerations of profit, who had refused to sell to the previous excavators. We resolved to try first for a concession to dig half-a-dozen trial shafts to test the quality of the site, lest we should be let in for an unprofitable bargain like site *C* only on a larger scale.

So much for prospects at Poli, but the extremely probable contingency of failure to obtain what we wished had also to be faced. The season was drawing to a close, the corn was ripe for harvest in the central plain, and once harvesting began we could only hope to retain our labourers by a considerable increase in their pay. Easter too was at hand, and its festivities would steal from us the best part of a week. I was pledged to sail from Larnaca on April 20, and although H. A. Tubbs was willing to stay on a week or two longer, he also was anxious to spend a short time at Athens before the summer heat set an end to the session of the British School. We wanted a site small enough to be excavated in two or three weeks, and if possible within easy reach of Poli to facilitate transport and the business of packing up. Naturally the temple site at Limniti occurred to us, of which I had heard talk at Nicosia, and which Mr. Gardner had on our ride to Poli pointed out as a possible field of work. I had conceived the idea that Limniti might represent the grove of Zeus mentioned by Strabo.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Williamson, moreover, possessed the excavating rights there, and was willing to extend his contract to cover this site also. The site, which we understood to be a grove temple, required identification, and offered the chance of a find of statuary and inscriptions, while a number of terra-cottas were known to have come out of it.

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<sup>1</sup> Strabo, 683, quoted above, p. 3 note. The Tubbs' excavation, v. Section V. below. notion is not borne out by the results of Mr.

Nothing more suitable could have suggested itself, and accordingly I wrote for the necessary permission.

Meanwhile our work went on at the old sites. Kaparga in particular ran into unexpected developments, and was the last to give out. But on April 5 we were able to start on the corner north of the vineyard, and about the same time succeeded with great difficulty in extracting from the still reluctant Turk an agreement to sink half-a-dozen shafts in his field, or rather to work what tombs had fallen in and make the number up to the half-dozen.

On site *M* our attention was of course turned first to the tomb containing the inscription (*M. 1*). The fine limestone block on which it was cut taxed the strength of our ropes to draw it out, and wore out our only saw by the time the inscription was cut off. It was followed by three or four dozen other slabs of smaller size, none of them inscribed, which were gladly appropriated by the owner of the site. They had formed a double row of *μνήματα* stretching into the tomb on either side. The tomb had been robbed and contained little else but some remnants of jewellery and a pair of bronze armlets terminating in snakes' heads. There was some difficulty in finding any more tombs, but one was opened (*M. 2*) which yielded, among other objects of late date, fragments of a fluted glass cup with raised leaf pattern, and a slender glass tumbler bearing in relief the word ΕΥΦΡΟΕΥΝΗ—'good cheer.' The apparent absence of tombs was explained when we hit on a vast many-chambered cavern, which measured from end to end sixty-nine feet (*M. 3*). Through one of the side niches robbers had entered an earlier tomb at a slightly higher level, and thence tunnelled on into another. The contents of these latter tombs were found scattered all through the great central chamber, mixed with its coarse pottery and Roman lamps. Among them were fragments of the red unglazed ware with purple-brown patterns, and the top of a black-glazed *askos* with a finely moulded head with shaggy hair and beard. The enterprising tourist, should he ever penetrate to Poli, will not have the privilege of visiting this palace of the dead, for in obedience to the law we were obliged again to fill in the shaft.

On April 8 we started on the Turk's field, denominated site *T*. Our shafts were thrown out in three pairs eastward from near the outcrop of rock which marks the top of the undulation. Although most of the six tombs proved to be rather poor, there was no mark of late date about them, and one yielded a black-figured cylix with little rim-figures, and a large cylix, also black-figured, with a band of figures round the outside, not very carefully but spiritedly and effectively drawn (*T. 2*).

April 10. Still no news of Limniti. The last tomb on Kaparga gave out, and the last shaft on site *T*. Our jealous friend the Turk seemed inclined to quarrel with what we had already done, and we were obliged to give him a little over his stipulated price for having ventured an extra shaft in the outcrop of rock, which did not affect his corn. He was in no mood for negotiation, and it became evident that we could scarcely hope to acquire the rights at

any rate that could be called 'reasonable,' at least so long as the crop remained upon it. Yet were the permission for Limniti delayed over the week's end we should have either to remain idle or to 'plunge' on the site.

*April 11.*—Site *M* still working, the big tomb taking a long time to clear. We tried round the vineyard hedge for tombs which had been missed, and opened one or two without result other than the inscription (No. 3 in the vase inscriptions) scratched on two fragments of black-glazed stamped ware. Site *W* was taken up again, and the supposed wall developed into a remnant of foundation for some building, a mere remnant however, without recognizable plan or interesting features. Speculative shafts were sunk where the road crosses the roots of Kaparga, in the outlying patch of site *C*, and on an unpromising plot near the church, which we named site *D*. Nothing whatsoever came to light except on this last plot, and on it only the usual poor foundation walls of houses.

*April 12.*—Nothing doing but filling in and tidying up. We walked up to Chrysochou on the chance of finding an inscription to copy. We could hear of no antiquities at all, but there is an interesting remnant of mediaeval building adapted for modern use—a walled courtyard with decorated gate, etc., perhaps representing some ecclesiastical foundation.

Next morning came the long looked for permission, and a letter from Mr. Thompson to say that he had been instructed to divide with us the Poli antiquities and would come over next day for that purpose. The Government also required a formal notification that the excavations at Poli were ended before the permission for the new site could be held valid. Our resolution was quickly taken. We preferred not to spend time in bringing our friend the Turk to terms. The site was, moreover, too big an undertaking for our limited time and exhausted exchequer, especially as H. A. Tubbs would now be single-handed, a very serious drawback to tomb-work. The notification was sent off. But I earnestly hope that the supporters of the Cyprus Exploration Fund will not think that they have done with the island until that site, so promising of Greek antiquities and so interesting in view of the problems raised by excavations at Poli hitherto, has been explored.

*April 14.*—Mr. Thompson arrived, and the division was speedily and amicably effected. We were granted a *zaptieh* to be put in charge of the house and antiquities until the latter could be finally packed off. The following day was busy with preparations for departure, and Poli was almost denuded of mules and donkeys to carry us and our encumbrances, animate and inanimate, to the new site. Such of our workpeople as were not going off to the harvest, already in active progress, were for following us *en masse* to Limniti, but we foresaw difficulties with the natives there, not to speak of a probable scarcity of provisions in the mountain valley, and contented ourselves with two or three men of proved usefulness, assuring the rest we would send for them if they were wanted.

And so on the morning of April 15 the cavalcade set out—but here we leave Poli, and H. A. Tubbs must take up the narrative. It is, however, only fitting that I should conclude by expressing the warmest thanks, firstly of the

excavators and secondly of all interested in the work of the Fund, for the kindness and ready assistance extended to us by all in the island with whom we were brought into contact. A special debt of gratitude is due for the cordial welcome and hospitality which we received from His Excellency the High Commissioner, from Colonel Warren, C.M.G., and Mrs. Warren, Mr. Justice Smith, Mr. Cobham of Larnaca, and Mr. Williamson; also to Mr. King of Nicosia, and especially to Mr. Thompson of Papho, for that prompt and courteous co-operation which so notably furthered our work.

J. A. R. M.

## II.—THE TOMBS.

NOTE.—*The Plans of Tombs to illustrate this Section have been prepared from Measurements and Drawings by H. A. Tibbs.*

There were opened during the course of the excavations 165 productive tombs in all, distributed as follows :—

Eastern Necropolis.—Vineyard . . . . .	2
Site <i>M</i> . . . . .	3
Site <i>T</i> . . . . .	6
	—
	11
	—
Western Necropolis.—Oven site . . . . .	19
Kaparga . . . . .	68
Hagios Demetrios . . . . .	24
Site <i>A</i> . . . . .	27
Site <i>B</i> . . . . .	16
	—
	154
	—

But the total number of shafts sunk cannot have been much under 200. In the above enumeration all tombs are reckoned as productive from which anything was derived beyond *broken* pottery, etc., of the coarsest and commonest varieties utterly devoid of all interest and value.

The tombs were without exception subterranean. Some were 'earth-tombs' pure and simple, many for instance on the oven site and site *A*. But to the majority one cannot properly apply that name,<sup>1</sup> and yet on the other hand would hesitate to call them 'rock-tombs,' for although they are not formed in mere compact surface-soil, but in the actual solid material of the ridge, yet that material lacks the consistency and hardness which we usually associate with the term 'rock,' and can easily be worked with the pick and knife or even spade. Tombs near the edge of a hill are usually reached by

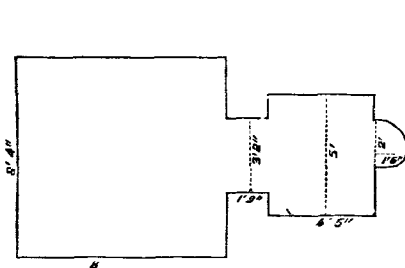
<sup>1</sup> As Dr. Herrmann does, *op. cit.* p. 8; cf. Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 226.



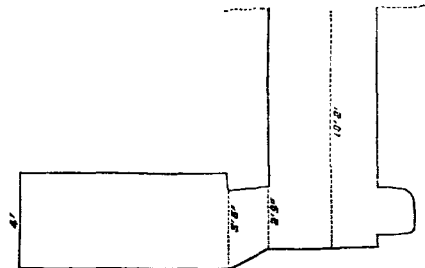
tunnelling into the slope at the side, but as they have almost invariably been robbed and lain open for years, we had little or nothing to do with them. The rest are regularly got at by sinking a shaft from the surface. And here it is to be noted that whereas many, indeed most, of the tombs were approached by a sloping shaft, or as it is technically termed *δρόμος*, which descended gradually from the surface, the object of the excavator on the other hand is to arrive as quickly as possible at the door, which he accordingly reaches by dropping a perpendicular shaft straight down at the end of the original decline. It is not worth while except in the case of extraordinarily valuable tombs to dig out the whole of the *δρόμος*, the length of which is consequently known only in the very rarest instances, for a skilful and experienced foreman will scarcely ever miss the right place for his shaft and sink it too high up in the *δρόμος*, not probably in five per cent. of the tombs. Two conclusions may be drawn from these premises, firstly that it is extremely difficult to pronounce without special investigation whether a tomb had a sloping *δρόμος* or not, and secondly that any conclusions as to the length of the *δρόμος* in tombs of different types or periods probably rest on the very slenderest evidence and are at least altogether premature.

The tombs lay close together without any uniformity of arrangement or of orientation. Tombs rich and poor, of the earliest and the latest date, individual, conjugal, and family sepulchres, were constantly to be found side by side. With one or two exceptions all were constructed on a single principle, of which, however, three main varieties or developments must be distinguished, dividing the tombs into three types.<sup>1</sup> The main idea is that of an underground chamber with a single door and an approach or shaft.

The first and far the commonest form which this idea takes is that represented in the annexed sketches:—The main characteristic is the shaft, which usually seems to be a sloping *δρόμος*, but in some cases was apparently perpendicular. The difference does not seem in any way important: neither in type nor in contents did we observe that the tombs with the one form of approach differed from those with the other. The *δρόμος*, as has been said, is not as a rule excavated, and its length is consequently very seldom known, but does not seem to be significant. Dr. Herrmann has been led to suppose that early

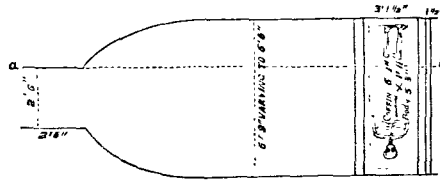


PLAN OF TOMB K. 4.

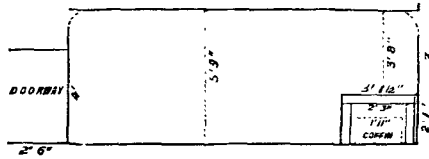


SECTION OF TOMB K. 4.

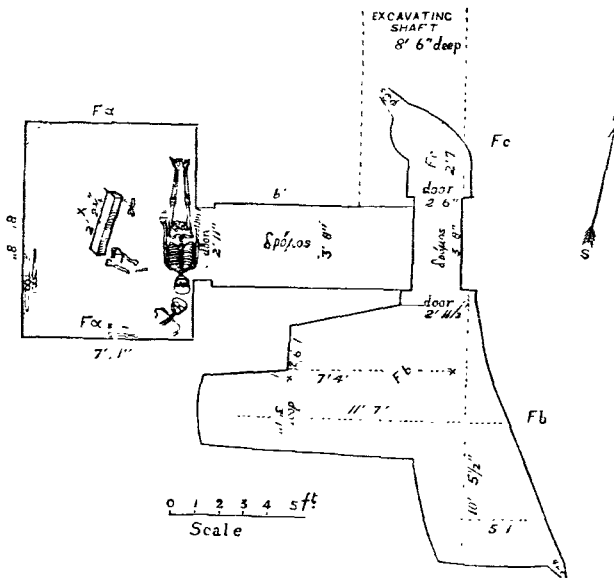
<sup>1</sup> Cf. Herrmann, *op. cit.* pp. 8-11.



PLAN OF TOMB K. 8.



SECTION OF TOMB K. 8.



PLAN OF TOMB F.

## NOTE ON PLAN OF TOMB F.

This stone, part of a tomb-door, bears a Cypriote inscription on its under surface. It, together with the bones found near, has fallen in from a tomb above that called *Fa*: a tomb it was impossible to excavate, but which was clearly marked by some pottery in the roof of *Fa*.

The corners of tomb *Fa* are rounded, but *in plan* the work was square: an exact finish is impossible owing to the friable character of the rock. The body laid just inside the door was hardly as well preserved as the sketch seems to indicate, ribs, pelvis, and shoulder-blades being present only in very small fragments.

tombs are marked by a long *δρόμος*, but we found examples (*e.g.* *A.* 6, *T.* 2, *B.* 12) which cannot well have had one, and at least one comparatively late tomb (*K.* 8) which certainly had. One early tomb (*K.* 4) had, so far as we could distinguish, no *δρόμος* at all, but a perpendicular shaft. The depth from the surface to the bottom of the shaft varied very considerably, from about 6 to 18 feet, and the early tombs were by no means the deepest, but again the point does not seem very important. Sometimes there was a cavity or little miniature tomb in the wall of the shaft either opposite to the door or to one side. In none of the three types is the number of chambers important: most tombs have only one, but two and three are not uncommon. The chambers may be circular or rectangular or very irregular in shape. They may vary in size from spacious chambers to cavities only long enough to contain a body, and in character from a well-hewn vault to a rough earth-hole. When the tomb is rectangular the door is usually in the middle of one end wall. When there are three chambers one is generally opposite the *δρόμος* (supposing there is one) and one to each side, all opening into the *δρόμος*. In one tomb (*J.*) we found three chambers with one door to serve for all, but usually each chamber had its own door. In most instances the door was found in a vertical line with the wall of the shaft, but often the *δρόμος* was continued in a tunnel into the wall for some little distance farther. The door was sometimes built up of small unwrought stones, sometimes formed of several larger slabs. We did not find that this distinction corresponded to any variation of type or date: *J.* and *K.* 48 for instance, although extreme instances of tombs of different periods, had very similar doors of the second kind. The roof of the tombs was not vaulted, but only slightly curved, although an arched appearance was often given by the continual falling in of the centre in large flakes.

The tombs of this first type were in a vast majority: Dr. Herrmann is totally misled in confining them to the eastern necropolis and to the fifth and preceding centuries. They form the main bulk of the tombs in the western necropolis and extend in date perhaps even down to Roman times (*e.g.* *A.* 12).

The second type differs from the first only in the substitution of a flight of steps for the *δρόμος* or shaft.<sup>1</sup> The number of steps varies of course with the depth. The stair was, in all examples we found, carried down quite close to the door, but here it must be remembered that otherwise we should scarcely have discovered it. Similarly this qualification extends to the statement that tombs of this type are not very common. We did not find that any of them were demonstrably early, and they certainly run down to a late date, but I should doubt whether they are to be confined to any particular period as Dr. Herrmann supposes. The variation from the first type seems trifling and, where tombs lie thick and a *δρόμος* could not conveniently be extended, is a very obvious way out of a difficulty.

What has been said of the minor variations in the tombs of the first type seems to apply without modification to those of the second. Both types

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<sup>1</sup> Hermann, *op. cit.*, Fig. 3. is a sufficient illustration.

present no less variety in their internal arrangements. In the majority of cases the bodies were simply laid upon the ground with or without a wooden coffin. The coffins had of course mostly disappeared, but remnants of them occasionally surrounded the skeletons, and the bronze clamps and nails which bound them were constantly to be found, sometimes still sticking in the wood. The middle of the tomb was generally left clear, the skeletons being ranged round against the walls. A very common arrangement was to place a corpse along each side wall, the heads lying nearest the door.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes shallow niches were cut in the walls, a foot or two above the floor, to receive the bodies. Sometimes a raised bank was left at the side of the tomb for the same purpose. Stone sarcophagi were sometimes found. For children they were often hewn out of a single block, but those of larger size were uniformly built of slabs close against the wall of the tomb. In two tombs at least (8, *M.* 1) there was a street of sarcophagi, extending in a double row continuously from end to end. There was no trace of sculptural or other adornment on any of the sarcophagi which we found, but two slabs from tomb *M.* 1 bore inscriptions (Nos. 13 and 14). The small sides or ends of the slabs were sometimes marked with well and deeply cut alphabetical symbols, which, as they could not be seen so long as the stones were in position, are hard to explain; were they less elaborately carved they might pass without question for masons' marks. Symbols which occurred were **F** (*K.* 30), **Γ**, and **Γ** twice, at each end of the same stone (22), (these latter might equally well have belonged to the door), and **Γ** (*K.* 31), on a stone with a large socket in one face which I am rather inclined to connect with a *stèle* of some sort.

As to the disposition of the objects found in the tombs there is little to be said. The usual arrangement, so far as any could be traced, seemed to be to group the pottery, etc., beside the corpse, chiefly at the head and feet and within reach of the hands.<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that pottery was seldom to be found actually within the sarcophagi.<sup>3</sup> Just outside the door of one tomb (*K.* 36), which was built of small unwrought stones, was ranged a row of seven large amphorae.<sup>1</sup> It was outside the door also, in the shaft, that the larger terracotta figures were usually found.

The third type of tombs is in marked contrast to the two others. The tombs are as a rule, but not always, on a larger scale. The number of chambers, as before, varies, but it is something new to find two or more chambers opening, not each by a separate door on to a common shaft, but one into another. This arrangement may almost be held typical of these tombs, and in particular a back chamber behind the main hall is almost always to be found. It is not, however, meant that there may not also be chambers opening on to the *δρόμος*—a good instance occurs in the great tomb *M.* 3, where there is also a bed-niche just outside in the *δρόμος*. Secondly the tombs of this type are characterized by a variety of niche never, so far as we discovered, exhibited by either of the other types. Instead of being long and shallow, forming a mere

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *J. H. S.* ix. p. 269.

shelf in the wall, these niches are deep and narrow, designed to receive the corpse at right angles to the wall instead of parallel to it. They were sometimes apparently closed by stone slabs. Thirdly the type is marked by great regularity of plan and careful workmanship. The chambers are not of straggling eccentric shape—we met with none that were not rectangular—the doors are set carefully in the centre of the walls, and the niches are placed more or less symmetrically opposite to one another on either side. Where there are but two chambers, one behind the other, the back one seems usually smaller and squarer, and the niches are confined to the front chamber. Very few tombs of the other types can compete with these in excellence of execution, the walls are straight and fairly smooth, the roof often carefully arched or vaulted, and the angles generally sharp. In one case there was some attempt at architectural adornment, a rough moulding cut in the soft rock ran along the junction of vault and walls, and was carried over the top of the niches. The *δρόμος* does not seem a characteristic feature: in the case of the tombs we discovered it was so far as we could see the ordinary sloping one, but Dr. Herrmann<sup>1</sup> gives a plan of a tomb apparently of this type approached by steps. The annexed plans give a good idea of the type.

The tombs which we opened of this third type seemed all of them to be of very late date. The contents of all were very uniform, and some of them certainly belong to the Roman period. There is at least nothing to hint that any of them are to be dated much, if at all, before the first century B.C. Dr. Herrmann, although he dates the various classes of tombs higher than seems to me probable, concurs with our judgment of the relative lateness of this type. We did not light upon a sufficient number to give ground for a satisfactory conclusion, but if it should prove to be a fact that these tombs do not appear at Arsinoe until well on in the Ptolemaic period, the fact will be rather singular, for the type seems certainly older at Paphos (in the case for instance of the *σπήλαιον τῆς Πηγινῆς*<sup>2</sup>), and is well known in Phoenicia and elsewhere<sup>3</sup> at a presumably earlier date, although the materials for fixing the chronology do not seem much more adequate than in Cyprus. The tombs at Arsinoe may of course have been used over again at a period long after their original construction, but if so they must have been very cleanly swept and garnished, for we nowhere found any earlier objects except where other tombs had been robbed through them and the contents confused.

A few curious or eccentric tombs may be briefly noticed here. In the shaft of one (*L*) a stone-built and paved chamber seemed to have been constructed. Not much, however, was to be made of it as we found it.

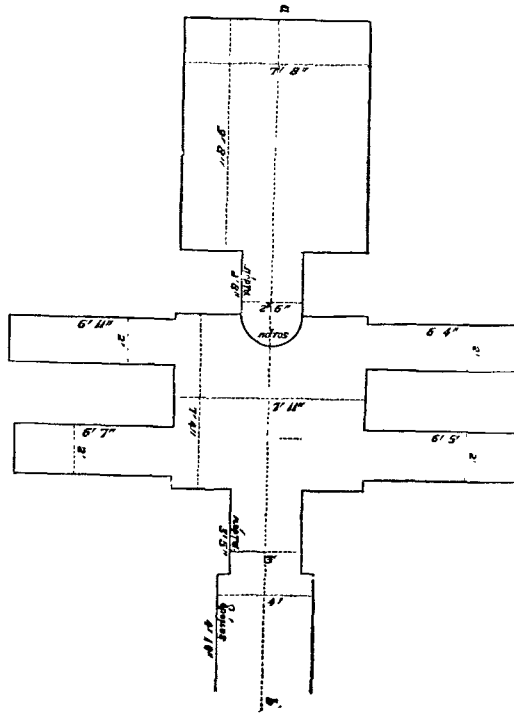
*K. 55* may also have been a later construction, at all events it is difficult to explain otherwise. We came upon a built sarcophagus in a narrow hole. It had been robbed and yielded nothing of value, but beneath the stone slabs which paved the floor beside it was another cavity containing bones.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, Fig. 4.

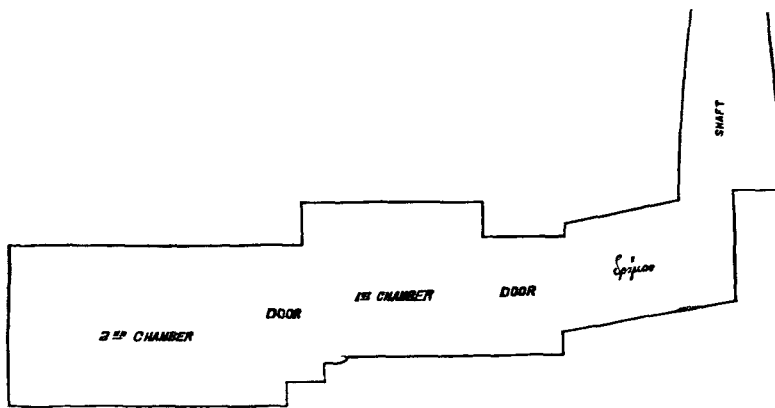
<sup>2</sup> Cf. *J. H. S.* ix p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in*

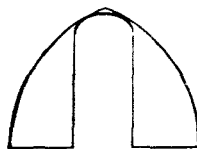
*Phoenicia*, ch. 3. The steps to the Amrit tombs and others are noticeable.



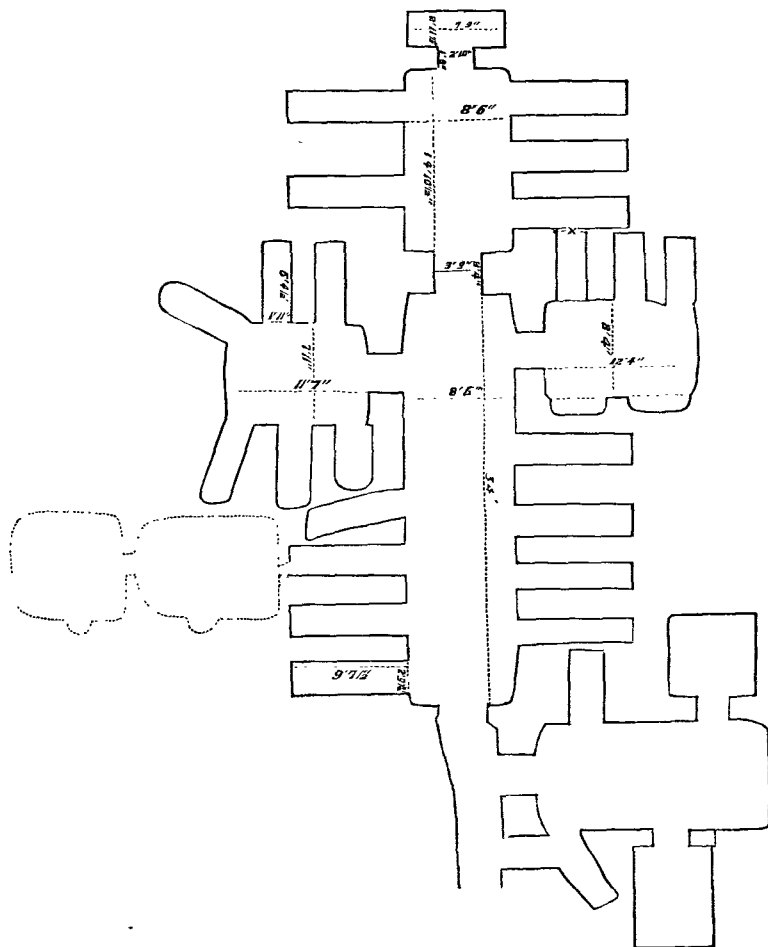
PLAN OF TOMB K. 63.



SECTION OF TOMB K. 63.



NEAREST FACE OF DOORWAY OF SECOND CHAMBER OF TOMB K. 63.

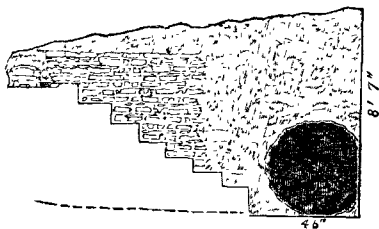


PLAN OF TOMB M. 3.

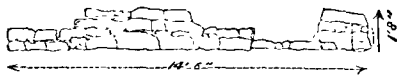
Two children's graves (*K. 7*, *K. 26*) were mere shallow holes in which lay a small sarcophagus scooped out of a single block of limestone. *K. 53* deserves mention. It is a large tomb of irregular shape, but rather resembling the great tomb in the Vineyard of which Dr. Herrmann gives a plan,<sup>1</sup> and which still lies open. The tomb appeared to be a genuine Greek one of not too late a date, judging from the fragments of pottery, but had been used again in Roman times, and again subsequently rifled. It contained confused heaps of broken vessels and sarcophagi. *K. 50* was a puzzling problem. The section will give some notion of it. The purpose of the walls is obscure, they seem to have little or no reference to the tomb, which was poor beyond description. The steps were of stone and their crevices were full of grain. Was the tomb adapted from a grain store, or *vice versa*? Did the

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 9.

grain merely work its way down from the field above? The walls were flimsily built of small unsquared stones and mud mortar.



SECTION OF TOMB K. 50.



EXTERIOR WALL AT RIGHT ANGLES TO THE STEPS, TOMB K. 50.

Several tombs contained architectural fragments, *E* and *J* pieces of plain simple moulding, *H* and 19 stones with mouldings and traces of colour. Possibly these fragments came from the doors of the tombs: the sinkings in one of the stones with moulding are, however, hard to explain, being apparently on the upper side. From *A.* 10 came a number of wrought stones, among which were two inscriptions (Nos. 10 and 19), a limestone drum resembling an altar, with mouldings above and below and a hole in the top for affixment of something, a late Ionic pilaster capital, a fragment of what might have been a door-post with moulding round three sides, two blocks with moulding on two sides, etc., all of limestone. The cavity in which these members were found was sufficiently shapeless, but seemed from a little pottery remaining there to have been a tomb. It may be doubted, however, whether the architectural remains had any connection with the tomb, into which they may have been thrown to get them out of the way. It is to be noted that the Greek inscription was found in three dispersed pieces, and half of the Cypriote is missing. Nothing could be constructed out of the stones and fragments, but if they are to be assigned to the tomb, we may suppose they belonged to an ornamented door and a *μνημα*. The contents were worthless and insignificant—two coarse jugs, a chip of Cypriote pottery, and one or two little bits of black-glazed ware. The drum remains a mystery.

Tombs *N* and *A.* 20 were remarkable for their twisted subterranean *δρομος*, which turned at right angles before reaching the tomb.

Tomb *N* brings us to the interesting subject of sepulchral *stelae*. In the shaft were found a few dispersed pieces of a limestone Cypriote capital of the type figured in Cesnola's *Cyprus*, p. 117, Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia*, E.T., vol. i. figs. 52, 53, 152. Mr. E. A. Gardner has made the



annexed restoration (Fig. 3), to which I would only add that I believe myself, from the breakage of the top, that there was some further ornament over the segment of a circle between the two horns, a supposition rather confirmed by the figs. 52 and 53 just quoted. (Cf. also P. and C. vol. ii. fig. 327.) The tomb was extremely small and cramped, and the capital is very far from complete. I do not think its connection with the tomb is at all probable, but rather that it was thrown into the shaft from above.

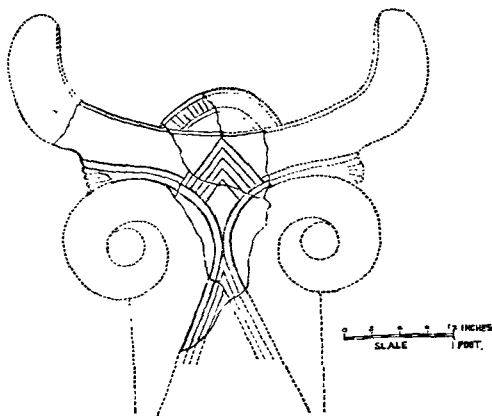


FIG. 3.

Of a very different type is the elegant limestone capital from *K. 29*. It is of slender form, and carved in long pointed leaves with a slight zigzag

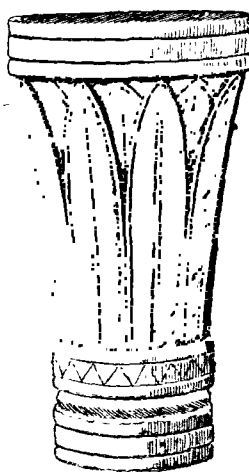


FIG. 4.

pattern below. The accompanying figure (4) renders description unnecessary. I am not aware of any very close parallel, but vertical twigs and zigzags form

the decoration of the capital figured in Perrot and Chipiez, vol. i. fig. 56, although the form and arrangement is very different. No shaft was found to throw any further light on the purpose of this capital, which has a socket in the lower end, but from *K. 2* came an octagonal limestone pillar of very inferior workmanship and perfectly plain except for a simple moulding round the upper edge, which, as it also bears a socket in the top, may be supposed to have supported some capital of a similar kind. *K. 29* was probably a rifled tomb. It contained aski of the usual inferior red-figured style, black-glazed saucers with impressed patterns bearing symbols from the Greek and the Cypriote alphabets, etc., and a very crude stone statuette of a seated female figure. Possibly the large block from *K. 31* bearing the symbol  $\bar{\Gamma}$  may be referred to some such *stèle* as a base, for there is on it a large socket for the insertion of another oblong block or the like. A lump of lead which had evidently served to fuse a peg into a socket was found in the shaft of *K. 1*. From an unproductive shaft on site *A* came a small limestone anthemion perhaps connected with some sort of *stèle*. All these little indications point to sepulchral *stelae* of one sort or another. If we turn now to the inscribed stones from the tombs we find that, with the exception of those from *M. 1* and *A. 10*, the little chip from *B. 4*, and the small trough from the unnamed tomb on Kaparga, all<sup>1</sup> are long blocks of stone bearing the inscriptions not along them but *across*, and within a few inches of one end. It is obvious that they were intended to stand upright, and so cannot be supposed to have belonged to doors or to *μνήματα*. Into the latter they could not be fitted, and their length and narrowness preclude our thinking of the former, indeed the slabs that form the door are usually laid lengthwise one above another. I am convinced that these blocks can only have been sepulchral *stelae* or *cippi*. They were moreover most of them found well inside the tombs, a fact which puzzled me so long as I went upon the door-panel theory. However surprising the erection of a *stèle* within the tomb may seem, and although we cannot pretend to have found one actually standing, I think all the evidence tends to show that it was the practice to erect such monuments, perhaps at the head of the corpse. It may prove, then, that General di Cesnola's account<sup>2</sup> of the *stelae* standing at either end of the sarcophagus at Athienou, for which even MM. Perrot and Chipiez, who generally take the General at his word, seem to feel the want of some confirmation or explanation, is less of a fancy construction than has sometimes been suspected. His words a few pages before,<sup>3</sup> 'From some of these tombs I extracted various mortuary *stelae* with bas reliefs' etc., although vague, are confirmatory so far as they go. The *stelae* with carved capitals and sculpture are in this view only a more ornate form of the humbler inscribed blocks, or *vice versa*.<sup>4</sup>

But be this as it may, there is at least no doubt about two sepulchral *stelae*,

<sup>1</sup> That from *K* and one of those from *K. 58* are broken below, but seem to have been the same as the rest.

<sup>2</sup> *Cyprus*, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the inscription on the block from *B. 12*, where I believe *ἐνέσρασα* is to be read, cf. Deecke, *Sammlung* No. 71.

or rather the upper part of them, of the familiar Greek type with pediment and side posts. These examples certainly were set up above ground. The one was of limestone, small, and much damaged. There seemed probably to have been once an inscription along the architrave, but the letters were hopelessly obliterated. There was no sculptural adornment, possibly the internal field may have been painted. This monument came from a shallow hole which contained also a broken Cypriote jug, and the fragments of a cylix, with band of palmette and lotus-bud pattern outside in black and purple with incised lines (*K.* 46). The other *stèle*, which is of marble, is from *B.* 1. It has already been mentioned and is figured above. Represented is a bearded man almost life size, wrapped in his himation, who stands calmly looking before him. The work seems rather slight and hasty than bad, and perhaps may prove to be of earlier date than appears at first sight probable. On this point we may hope for some enlightenment from the carelessly scratched inscriptions when they are deciphered: *a priori* I should assign the *stèle* to the third century B.C. Whether the insignificant cavity in which it was found was ever a tomb at all is extremely doubtful, the *stèle* was at all events its only content.

One more point must here be dealt with—the condition in which the tombs were found. In one word, their condition was execrable. In the first place the material in which they were excavated is ill suited to the preservation of their contents. It is the rarest thing possible to find a tomb that is not choked to the depth of several feet. Nor is the best made of the material. In all but the latest tombs the roof is almost flat. The consequence is that it is continually falling in large heavy flakes, smashing the pottery and loading everything with earth, from which it has to be laboriously extracted, coated, as the case may be, with stiff clay, or hardened mud, or calcareous incrustations. But the immediate damage entailed by the choking of the tombs, and the slow groping after any recognizable tests of their character, are less mischievous than the confusion wrought by robbers, or worse still by the repeated use of the tombs by later generations. To guarantee the virginity of a tomb we found generally a most difficult matter. It does not follow because the door is intact, which is seldom enough, that the tomb has not been robbed, for the robbers often entered from above, or from the side, or by tunnelling from another tomb. A good instance of the last method is furnished by the two tombs robbed from the niche in the great tomb *M.* 3. above mentioned. In another case (*K.* 20) we entered a newly-opened grave and travelled through it into the next, whence our voices issuing from the sepulchral darkness not a little terrified a workman who was just uncovering the door. Neither, however, does an open portal necessarily mean a rifled tomb, for the door has often collapsed. Nor, again, is it certain that the tomb is in its original state, even if the door be closed and there is no other entrance to be found, for tombs were not infrequently used over again in later times (*e.g.* *L.* 22, *K.* 24, *K.* 53, &c.), and the door may certify only the integrity of the after burial. Less important, but still enough to necessitate a certain latitude in the assignment of dates, is the fact that a large proportion of the

tombs were intended to receive more than a single generation of a family, indeed a colossal tomb like *M.* 3 may well have served a whole clan for some time. The state of the pottery is sometimes a useful test of the substantial integrity of a tomb. If it is not merely broken by falling earth, but dispersed, fragments of the same vase being scattered all about the tomb (as in *S* and 2), we may certainly recognize the work of the *τυμβωρύχος*, but it need not be assumed that the really business-like robber indulged in this wantonness of destruction. Much of the Cypriote funeral jewellery may almost have been repugnant to the finer artistic or commercial instincts of the gentlemanly thief, but no doubt, given a certain unity of style in the contents, a sure criterion of a virgin tomb is the presence of objects of the precious metals. Tombs 10, *K.* 30, &c., are thus guaranteed.

It is well to point out the difficulties in the way of scientific conclusions from the contents of the tombs which follow from the circumstances of their discovery, because they are particularly characteristic of Cypriote cemeteries, and archaeologists working in libraries and museums are apt to overlook them, and may in consequence occasionally arrive at results more curious than correct. But of course too much must not be made of them. Whether or not a tomb has been rifled, mixture and confusion of contents must naturally be the exception and not the rule. Neither can tombs have often been used over again at periods sufficiently near in time seriously to mislead the investigator. The unfortunate thing is that it is just where confidence in the testimony of a tomb becomes most important, in the case of novel and surprising combinations of objects which provoke at once curiosity and suspicion, that the full force of the doubt is most acutely felt. In such cases only some occasional crucial test, or the cumulative evidence of several tombs, can bring conviction. The difficulty is of course at its greatest on a site like ours, where the staple contents of the tombs seem to vary little from age to age, where it is impossible to argue from one tomb to its next neighbour, and where the type of construction affords little or no additional clue.

In conclusion it may be remarked that, although we have spoken throughout of our unhallowed depredations with the professional callousness of the hardened digger, yet the sacred peace of the dead was as little disturbed as the nature of our task permitted. They were robbed of their vessels and their trinkets, but their bones were respected, and their resting-places closed again for their tranquil possession. *Requiescant in pace.*

J. A. R. M.

### III.—CONTENTS OF THE TOMBS.<sup>1</sup>

We now come to the most important, but at the same time the most difficult, part of our subject—the contents of the tombs, and here a word must

<sup>1</sup> In writing this section I have here and there profited by suggestions or information from Mr. A. S. Murray, Mr. Cecil Smith, and Mr. A. H.

Smith, to all of whom I desire to record my thanks.

be said on the method of treatment adopted. It might have been expected that our account would proceed upon some chronological arrangement, such as Dr. Herrmann has attempted, but the reasons against this method seem to me for the present conclusive. In the first place it must be obvious from what has been said about the tombs that (1) the sites are hopelessly mixed, tombs separated by centuries in date constantly occurring side by side; (2) the type of a tomb affords little or no criterion of date; (3) it is extremely difficult to guarantee the primitive integrity of the products, because the majority of tombs contain several occupants, tombs were often used over again in later periods, and robbers sometimes introduce confusion. These facts present serious objections to satisfactory chronological classification, and when we add (4) the most certain criteria of date, coins and Greek inscriptions, are extremely scarce and not available in any but the least important instances; (5) the great mass of the find, consisting of coarse, Cypriote, and black-glazed pottery, terracottas of native manufacture, plain jewellery, &c., hardly admits of precise chronological division; (6) the greater part of the imported figured ware is of too slight and careless a style to be at all an accurate guide, especially at a time when the evidence of style is at a discount, if not completely discredited; (7) until we know more of the places of manufacture of the various classes of pottery, any arguments drawn from the history of Cyprus must be received with great caution—when all these considerations are taken into account, the chronological method is reduced to absurdity from lack of material for forming a judgment on any doubtful point, and becomes liable to all those arbitrary assumptions and misleading combinations which beset premature efforts at classification by date. Yet certain references to chronology are convenient and legitimate, if not inevitable. Individual objects and individual tombs may be dated with something like accuracy, even where the limits of the class remain elastic, and here and there a more or less general conclusion *ἐξ εἰκότων καὶ σημείων* may be stated for what it is worth. But such isolated judgments are more appropriately inserted in connection with the particular objects or classes of objects which naturally lead to them, or thrown into a tentative gleanings of results after the whole has been described. Are we then to go through the finds tomb by tomb, or even site by site? This method has its advantages to the student, but by separating objects of the same class loses almost as much as it gains and involves many tedious repetitions and a distracting multiplicity of references. It seems better to classify the products of the excavation under a few general heads, and affix references to the tombs in which the various objects or classes of objects appear, so that those interested in the study of them may work out their several combinations for themselves—a treatment which, it is hoped, will prove at once comprehensive and concise.

1. *Stone Objects, Stelae, Inscriptions, and the Syllabary.*—Statuary was conspicuous by its absence, the only objects of the class being a small female figure seated on a high-backed chair, and a fragment of a little relief of a reclining figure, both exactly parallel to very common types of terracottas. The former (K. 29) is of very crude and heavy style, and the head is lacking.

She holds on her lap with her right hand a square box, her left hand is raised towards her face. The ponderous drapery is mechanically executed, and the figure is extremely clumsy. The fingers of the hand on the box are flat and straight. Round the neck is a thick necklace of pointed pendants. The material is a soft limestone. The relief (*B. 8*) is also of limestone, and not much better in style. The type is the ordinary reclining one of the 'funeral feast.' Both ends are broken.

Parallel again to the terra-cottas are one or two little stone animals, *e.g.* bird (*F*), lion (*K. 34*). Stone ointment bottles of the alabastron shape also appeared (*M, K. 54, A. 19.*).

The *stelae* and capitals have already been described, and the inscriptions will be dealt with in a separate section (*V.*). The latter are from tombs *F, K, K. 5, K. 37, K. 45, K. 58, K. 68* (the unnamed tomb), *A. 10, B. 4, B. 12, M. 1*. The only inscription in the Greek alphabet, probably of Roman imperial times, is one of those from the dubious hole *A. 10*.

The following tables of tombs in which the Cypriote syllabary and Greek alphabet respectively appear, whether on stone or on pottery, &c., may be interesting as bearing on the history of Cypriote epigraphy. Possibly one or two more instances may have to be added when the vases are all cleaned. In one or two cases it is doubtful to which alphabet symbols are to be assigned.

*Cypriote Syllabary.*

<i>Site</i>	<i>V.</i>	<i>tombs</i>	<i>2.</i>
"	Oven	"	<i>B, F, K.</i>
"	( <i>H.D.</i> )	"	<i>7, 11, 12, 17, 19, 22.</i>
"	<i>K.</i>	"	<i>5, 9 ?, 11, 12, 19 ?, 24, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 37, 38, 44,</i> <i>45, 51, 58, 59, 62, 66, 68</i> (the unnamed tomb).
"	<i>A.</i>	"	<i>1 ?, 2, 8, 10, 20, 21.</i>
"	<i>B.</i>	"	<i>3 ?, 4, 5 ?, 8, 9, 11, 12.</i>
"	<i>M.</i>	"	<i>1.</i>

*Greek Alphabet.*

<i>Site</i>	Oven	<i>tombs</i>	<i>J.</i>
"	( <i>H.D.</i> )	"	<i>1, 7, 8, 10, 17, 19, 21, 22 ?</i>
"	<i>K.</i>	"	<i>11, 19 ?, 21, 24, 29, 33 ?, 35, 42, 45, 51, 53.</i>
"	<i>A.</i>	"	<i>1 ?, 8 ?, 10, 12.</i>
"	<i>B.</i>	"	<i>1, 3 ?, 5 ?, 9 ?, 11, 12.</i>
"	<i>M.</i>	"	<i>2, 3.</i>
"	<i>T.</i>	"	<i>2.</i>

In tombs *J. 21, K. 42, K. 53, M. 3* the Greek alphabet is represented only on the stamped handles of amphorae, in *A. 12* on a small Roman lamp with  $\Gamma$ , and in *M. 2* on a glass tumbler with embossed inscription.

Refinements of epigraphical style are not to be expected in scratchings on pottery, but may be valuable as indications of date when they *are* present. We note, therefore, an ornate  $\mathbf{E}$  on a black-glazed saucer with impressed patterns from Tomb 8, and  $\mathbf{H}\odot$  on a plain one-handed saucer of the same

ware from *K.* 35, where the punctuation of the  $\theta$  is significant, and seems to point to the Hellenistic period.

2. *Coarse or Perfectly Plain Pottery* amounted to about a third of the total find. Few tombs were without several examples of various kinds. Three main varieties may be distinguished—(a) light-coloured, from yellow to grey, perhaps the commonest of all; (b) red; and (c) brown. The last seems sometimes produced by a wash of colour, the other two depend on the nature of the clay and the baking. The red variety seemed to be most prominent in the latest tombs, e.g. *J.*, *A.* 12, &c. Coarse red pots in particular, of round, full-bellied form, are a bad omen (*N.*, *A.* 9, *A.* 12). So are the slender little bottles of smooth red clay which are narrow at each end and swell out in the middle.<sup>1</sup> These are commonly to be found in collections of Roman antiquities. They appeared in Tombs *E*, *H*, *K.* 32, *K.* 41, *K.* 42, *K.* 44, *K.* 53, 21, 22, *A.* 12, and *M.* 3. In Tomb *E* were also three vases of the same type, but of a dark colour, with a narrow red and white line round. Roman lamps were found in *K.* 50 (two), *K.* 53 (three), *A.* 12 (two, one bearing the letter  $\tau$ , the other a couple of little birds' heads), *A.* 26, and *M.* 3 (five, one with a cross). But of course red pottery is frequent enough in earlier tombs. Apart from amphorae and large vessels, unglazed red saucers with one handle are common, and neat little cotylae (*S.* 16, *K.* 19, *K.* 42, *A.* 21, *B.* 5, *B.* 11).

The shapes of the plain pottery are almost innumerable (Fig. 5): jars and jugs of every size and form, basins, bottles, saucers, plates, pots, lamps, &c., but distinctly Greek shapes like the lecythus, hydria, or oenochoe are rare, and seem as a rule to run rather late than early. The amphorae with inscribed handles have already been enumerated, some of the most legible read—*Εὐκλείτου* with caduceus (*K.* 53), *ἐπὶ Τεισαγορᾶ Θεσμοφορίου* (*K.* 53) 'Ἡφαιστιῶνος with caduceus, and *ἐπὶ Πυθογένεως Ῥακινθίου* (*K.* 53), *ἐπὶ Ἀριστοφάνους Ῥακινθίου* (*M.* 3); one from *B.* 4 bore simply a cup (cantharus).

Some amphorae had very long necks and small bodies, others had long bodies and no necks at all. A saucer was usually found on each amphora to serve as a lid. Some doubtless contained wine, others probably oil. One or two flat vessels held chicken bones, others egg-shells.<sup>2</sup> A red cantharoid pot with a lid (*B.* 4) contained a brown substance resembling coffee grounds.

Minute vessels, which might have come from a doll's house but can have served no practical purpose, were not uncommon. The little lamps formed simply by pinching in the rim of a round saucer to a spout are to be found in tombs of all periods from the sixth century downwards, e.g. *K.* 4, *K.* 48, 10, *B.* 11, *E*, *N* (in the two last they are red). Examples are published (*Salaminia*, 2nd ed., fig. 304; *Jahrbuch* II., p. 88). But the commonest of all vessels are the little jugs with one small handle, which are roughly cylindrical in shape but rather narrower above than below. They somehow came to be known to us as 'bottle-jugs.' We must have found several hundred. One is figured in the *Jahrbuch* (*loc. cit.*). These little jugs seem to have remained in use without the slightest modification of form for many centuries.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *J. H. S.* ix. p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *J. H. S.* ix. p. 270.

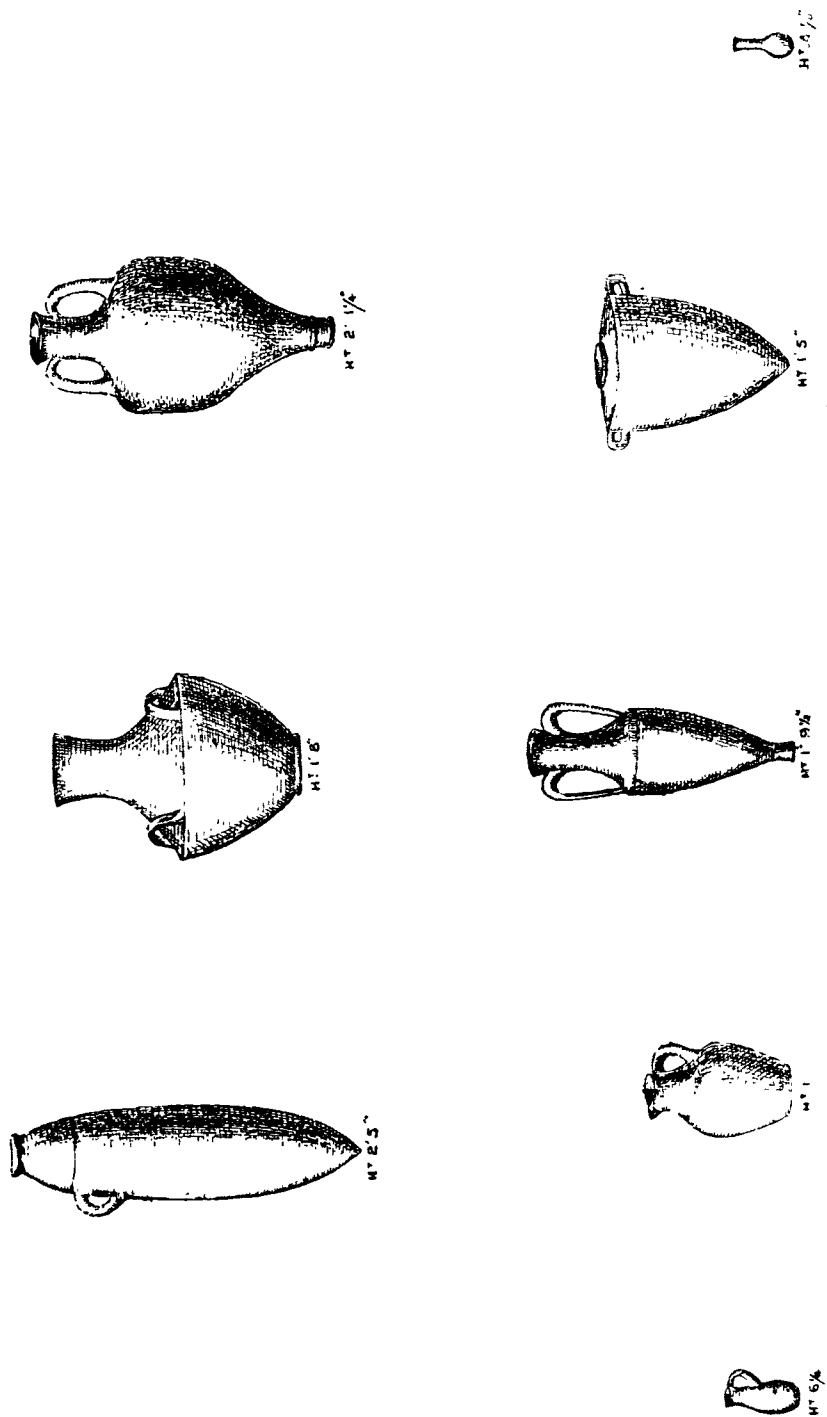


FIG. 5.—SPECIMEN DESIGNS OF COARSE POTTERY FOUND AT POLI, FEBRUARY—APRIL, 1889.



Throughout the plain pottery, indeed, the fixity of type is remarkable. The common large two-handled jars are precisely like those still in use. We made good from our excavations the breakages of our water-carrier, and the ancient vessels were scarcely distinguishable from the modern.

3. *Cypriote Pottery* in bulk of find ranks next to the coarse or plain. Certain varieties were not found, such as the primitive ware, with incised patterns on shiny red surface, or the vessels of strange eccentric shapes in light clay with dark geometric patterns, or again the vases with human and animal forms mixed with oriental ornaments, *e.g.* the sacred tree, as a main element in the decoration. The different kinds which were found are, however, very numerous, and no adequate account can here be given of them, especially as in many cases the decoration can only be made out after cleaning.

The shapes are many—jars and jugs, large and small, slender and stout, bowls, pots, cups, bottles, large shallow basins or plates, &c. The system of decoration is fairly constant, its principal features are bands and circles, either horizontal or vertical, and very often combined in concentric groups, hatchings, zigzags, and sometimes floral patterns, twigs, &c., chiefly on the neck and shoulder. The ground is usually, but not absolutely always, matt, and the patterns are laid on in a dark purple-brown pigment, often with white additions, or sometimes in various bright colours, usually arranged in streaks, intersecting lines, &c.

Certain leading varieties may be distinguished—(a) Light ground of the natural clay, dark patterns helped out sometimes with red, but especially with white. This is the style displayed on most of the largest vessels, the big two-handled jars, &c., but also on smaller jugs and cups. The decoration is usually confined to bands round the body of the vase and groups of concentric circles, but other designs, geometrical and floral, not infrequently appear on the neck and shoulder. I cannot quote examples of animal forms on any of the vases we found, but possibly some may come to light, in any case they are not conspicuous elements in the ornament. It is worthy of notice that however early this first variety may be, it was most prominent in what *seemed* comparatively late tombs, such as *K, L, N, P*, &c.

(b) Strong red ground, usually laid on, dark patterns and white additions. This style is especially affected for jugs of the middle size, with or without plastic decoration, shallow basins, bowls, and the jugs with pinched spouts, either round-bodied with slender tapering necks,<sup>1</sup> or resembling the 'bottle-jug' type.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Herrmann implies (page 16) that this variety is later than the first. It may be so, but we found it in our earliest tombs, where the vases with light ground scarcely appear, *e.g.* *K. 48, T. 2*.

(c) Natural clay ground, usually light-reddish, ornamented with very simple patterns in red or dark colour, chiefly bands and stripes. This style, which was perhaps most frequently met with on site *A*, is but little removed from the coarse pottery, and, although it looks primitive, is not above suspicion of being a late degeneration. It appears mostly on small vessels, jugs, platters,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Herrmann, *op. cit* fig. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Salamina*, pl. xix. 8.

cups, &c. One jug from this site may here be mentioned which is hard to classify. Its form, with elegant lines and slightly tapering neck, and decoration, with a clay wriggle down the handle and triangular divisions of cross-hatching on the shoulder, looks distinctly early, but the other contents of the tomb afford no satisfactory tests.

(*d*) Ground warm, ruddy orange to ochre, patterns dark purplish brown or black, sometimes on the lighter examples approximating to violet or blue. The ground is sometimes smooth and almost shiny. The style is comparatively late, so far as can be made out, perhaps flourishing most in the second half of the fourth century. This, distinctly the most effective of all the Cypriote varieties, seems almost confined to jugs with figurines of developed type and the shallow basins so often found with them. Good examples are those from *S.* 8 (Fig. 6), and *M.* 3, with which should be compared Dr. Herrmann's Figs. 41, 42, and 46. The decoration is elaborate, and consists of rays, cross-hatchings, maeanders, palmettes, &c., and floral designs, *e.g.* olive-leaf and ivy, clearly showing the influence of the Greek red-figured style. This variety appeared in Tombs *S.* 8, 9, 12, 22, *K.* 8, *K.* 53, *M.* 3, and possibly in one or two others (*L*?).

(*e*) Coarse pottery, roughly painted in bright bands and streaks, or occasionally more elaborate patterns which, like the preceding variety, show the influence of the Greek red-figured ware. Very frequent on the poorer jugs with figurines and heads of oxen. Probably extends down almost to Roman times. The favourite colours are red, yellow, and magenta.

(*f*) Coarse pottery with only plastic decoration.

A special feature characteristic of most of the larger jugs of all these varieties is the 'double-barrelled' handle. Each member is usually decorated with dark touches, giving the effect of the winding band seen on a barber's pole.

The sixth century tomb, *K.* 48, produced a fine Cypriote vase, to which we found nothing at all parallel. The ground is strong red and the decoration dark. The shape is roughly ovoid, the body being broadest about a third or less of its height from the bottom. The neck is not slender, but narrows gently upwards, and is divided into two sections. The lip is wide and flat, with a well-marked rim. The decoration consists of bands within the lip, round the neck and body, and a zigzag occupying the whole shoulder with a group of little concentric circles between each pair of points above and below. There are circular bands over and under the junction of the upper and lower necks, and below the former band a series of triplets of little vertical strokes, three dark and three white alternately. The other band, over the junction, is touched up with white dots. The double handle bears at its point of union with the neck a little disk, such as is very frequent on Cypriote jugs, and no doubt derived from metal prototypes, as are the two bosses often seen on the body beside the lower end of the handle. Our vase in quality and finish is much above the average of Cypriote productions.

Another jug from a tomb (*K.* 23), from which came also a jug roughly painted in red and yellow with an ox-head spout, may perhaps be classed

under (e). The decoration, however, is unusual. It consists of the regular bands and an ivy pattern, painted in a dark reddish colour and brown on the light clay ground. A. 21 yielded some remarkable fragments of a large two-handled jar of the (a) variety. To one side of the base of one of the handles is the inscription in the Cypriote syllabary (No. 1 of section on vase inscriptions)  $\delta \pi\alpha(\iota\varsigma) \kappa\alpha\lambda\delta\varsigma$ , painted in the same dark purplish colour as the rest of the decoration. On the body of the vase, which is altogether ordinary in character, appears a conventional bud. The inscription  $\delta \pi\alpha\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\lambda\delta\varsigma$  on a common unfigured vase of this kind is, I believe, quite a novel phenomenon.

The jugs with plastically adorned spouts<sup>1</sup> may be treated as a class by themselves, although according to their other decoration they fall under the ordinary varieties above described. Jugs with unadorned spouts are occasionally found among the Cypriote ware, and in the coarse pottery are not rare.

Two main types may be distinguished, the figurine- and pitcher-type, and the ox-head type. The spout is always in front of the jug, on the shoulder. It is given decorative form by being treated as an ox-head from the mouth of which the liquid flows, or as a little pitcher from which a woman placed beside it pours. The decorative idea seems to survive or overpower the practical purpose, for the head or pitcher sometimes have no hole through them. Both types seem to have arisen at an early date, probably the sixth century at least, but both seem to continue without essential modification down to late Ptolemaic or Roman times, and I believe that some of the most primitive-looking examples may be found to be among the latest. The plastic additions share in the decoration of the jug and are painted in conformity with it; when the jug is unpainted so is the plastic adornment also.

The ox-head type is not absolutely restricted to heads of oxen, although the heads of any other animal are quite exceptional. We found one specimen with a ram's head (K. 59), and two with what may be pronounced goats' heads (A. 7, B. 7). The head degenerates on poor late examples (e.g. Q, K. 63) into a mere triangle of clay.

The figurine and pitcher type<sup>2</sup> presents two main varieties:—

(a) woman sitting on the shoulder of the jug beside the pitcher, which she usually holds with the right hand and sometimes supports also with the left. This attitude no doubt stands nearest to the original idea of the design, but its metaphysical priority by no means guarantees its chronological in every instance.

(b) woman no longer seated by her pitcher, but standing above it against the neck of the jug. Her arm is often prolonged in a helpless ludicrous fashion, that she may still keep hold of the pitcher in her new position.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. a very full treatment of the class in Dr. Herrmann's work § IV.

<sup>2</sup> For illustrations r. fig. 6; Herrmann, *op.*

*cit.* taf. 3, and figs. 32, 34, 36 to 44; Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pl. xliii. *cf.* p. 101; A. Cesnola, *Salamina*, figs. 284-5.

The difference between the two varieties may be as much one of technique as of date. The figurines of the first are usually more or less crude-looking, and executed in what has in Germany aptly been called 'snow-man's technique,' the clay being pinched and shaped chiefly by the unaided fingers, and the heads alone, in the better or more developed specimens, showing any decent workmanship. It is extremely probable that the heads were shaped separately in a mould. Although many of these figures look extremely archaic, and may be so, yet others may be the products of a quite late age. None of them exhibit any freely developed art, and obviously no such thing is to be

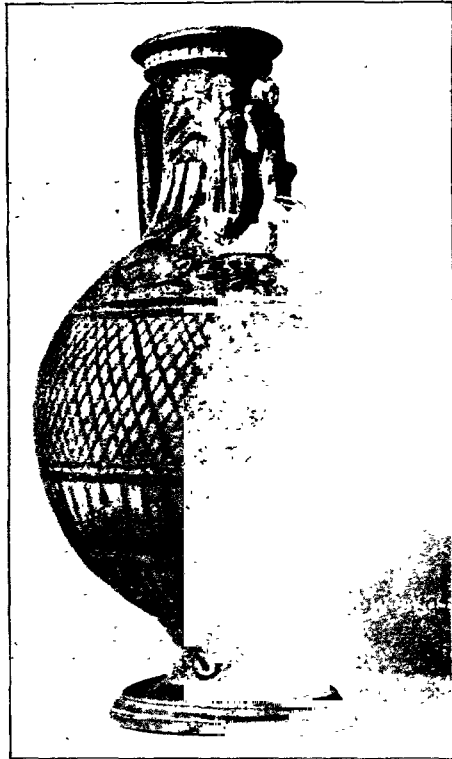


FIG. 6.

expected in them. Such a method of manufacture would in any age produce primitive-looking results, and the fact that no developed specimens came to light seems to indicate that the potters were not, and never thought it their business to become, modellers. The figures of the second variety may be brought forward as instances of free development, but the method by which they were produced is very different and is well marked on our vase fig. 6. The whole figure, not merely the head, is stamped with a mould. A lump of clay, perhaps rudely shaped to the required form, is applied to the neck of the

jug and receives the impression, or is perhaps first stamped and then put in position. The potter in the instance before us has not troubled to clear away the clay squeezed out at the edges, and the outlines and details of the figures, as in so many of these stamped examples,<sup>1</sup> lack clearness and precision. This variety seems, if we may trust the testimony of tomb *K*. 4, to begin at least as early as the middle of the fifth century. In some cases, but only so far as I know on jugs of the (*d*) (*e*) and (*f*) styles, the woman is no longer single, but beside her there appears a winged youth, whom we may call Eros or Thanatos according to taste. We found two examples in which the figures are preserved, one from tomb 8<sup>2</sup>, the other (broken), from tomb 22. The latter is of brown clay with violet patterns—an ugly combination.

The figurine and the ox-head type are sometimes combined, and we get a woman holding not a pitcher but an ox-head (*K*. 18, *K*. 54: cf. Dr. Herrmann's fig. 39).

Cypriote pottery (simple).<sup>3</sup>

<i>Site</i>	<i>Oven</i>	<i>tombs</i>	<i>A, B, D, F, K, L, N, P, S, T.</i>
"	<i>H. D.</i>	"	1, 8 ?, 9 ?, 10, 12 ?, 13, 22, 23.
"	<i>K.</i>	"	1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 23, 27, 28, 29, 31, 35, 37, 39, 42 <i>a</i> , 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 53 ?, 57, 59, 61, 62, 65, 67, 68 (the unnamed tomb).
"	<i>A.</i>	"	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 27.
"	<i>B.</i>	"	2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 16.
"	<i>M.</i>	"	3.
"	<i>T.</i>	"	1, 2, 3, 6.

(With plastic decoration.)

<i>Site</i>	<i>Oven</i>	<i>tombs</i>	<i>B, C, E, F, L, M, N, Q, S.</i>
"	<i>H. D.</i>	"	1, 5, 8, 11, 13, 16, 22, 23, 24.
"	<i>K.</i>	"	1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23, 26, 28, 31, 35, 37, 39, 42 <i>a</i> , 43, 48, 49, 51, 54, 58, 59, 63, 65, 67.
"	<i>A.</i>	"	1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 21, 24, 25.
"	<i>B.</i>	"	2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 15.
"	<i>M.</i>	"	3.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Herrmann complains of this lack in the case of one of the jugs figured on his taf. 3 and ascribes it wrongly (p. 59) to rude and superficial modelling.

<sup>2</sup> One may observe how the wings are utterly ignored in laying on the coloured decoration.

<sup>3</sup> It is doubtful whether the tombs queried ought not rather to be classed as containing only jugs with figurines—fragments of the (*d*) variety were found in them which, when the fragments are not from shallow basins, probably mean jugs with figurines.

4. *Black-figured pottery*.—In passing to the black-figured pottery we turn from local native fabrics to imported Greek wares. But there is one vessel to be noticed which seems to stand between the two. It is a small platter (fig. 7) found in tomb A. 7. The outside or back is decorated with dark rings merging into red on the natural clay ground. The inside is very remarkable; the rim, which is pierced with two small holes for suspension, is painted a light matt red, with outer and inner border of purplish black, while the natural clay ground of the centre is decorated with a black-figure sphinx, underneath which is a goose. The face and breast of the sphinx are painted white, her



FIG. 7.

wings are curved upwards and inwards in the familiar oriental style, and have a red centre with white border to it, the wing-feathers are roughly indicated by incised lines which are also used sparingly on the rest of the figure. It is a slender sphinx, thin in the ankles and abdomen. The goose between its legs bends its neck and rests its beak on its breast. A white-bordered red band crosses its wing. Neither the ground nor the rather poor black glaze are favourable to clearness of outline and precision of detail, but even with this allowance the execution is not very good. The general scheme of the platter reminds one of the Rhodian *πίνακες*, but the resemblance does not

extend further, and the style and method of manufacture are very different. A slightly nearer parallel might be found in the Naucratic pottery. But probably we have to recognize an attempt of a native potter to combine on a Cypriote platter features derived from, say, the Naucratic, and the Greek ordinary black-figured ware. The other contents of the tomb include several Cypriote vessels and a saucer with very poor black glaze, but give no further clue.

The black-figured vases are not numerous. We may begin with three small high-stemmed cylices of the 'Kleinmeister' style with little figures outside the rim (*K.* 21, *A.* 15, *T.* 2). Represented are (*K.* 21) dog one side, lion the other; (*A.* 15) combat between Heracles (?) and lion, both sides; (*T.* 2) Centaur both sides. From *T.* 2 came also a large black-figured cylix with outside band of figures, now in the Cyprus Museum. The drawing is far from careful, but the decorative effect is good. No particular action seems to be represented. Another black-figured vase which went to Nicosia is a lecythus of the ordinary form with a representation of a chariot and four—no more could he made out through the hard white incrustation which covered the vase. The tomb (*K.* 12) contained, besides Cypriote and plain black-glazed pottery, etc., a red-figured askos with carelessly drawn hare and goose and a red-figured lecythus with a sphinx of poor style.

*K.* 24 produced a few shattered fragments of a broad-shouldered lecythus, with interlaced lotus bud pattern on the shoulder, and a representation of running figures of very archaic style, as appears especially from the eyes, ankles, and feet. The original connection of the vase with the other contents of the tomb cannot be maintained. These were chiefly black-glazed vessels, plain, with little impressed patterns, or fluted, some bearing Cypriote, one Greek, characters scratched upon them; but also a couple of aski, the one of careless, the other of fairly good red-figured technique.

Similar in shape and decoration of shoulder is a lecythus from *K.* 33 which is complete from the neck downwards. It presents a scene of five figures (v. fig. 8, *a*, *b*). In the centre a winged female being prances in rapid flight to the right but turns her head back in exactly the opposite direction. Next to her on the left stands a nude male figure facing her but gazing downwards, who holds a spear in his left hand. Behind him, also facing to the right but looking straight in front of him, is another male figure clad in a chlamys, the corner of which he holds up with his spear in the left hand. To the right of the central figure and turning his back to her is a male figure seated on a stool, draped like the preceding and reproducing his attitude. The fifth figure, who is also male, is nude and stands facing and looking down at the seated figure. He holds a spear in his right hand. No one pays the least attention to the winged being, whose excited action is in sharp contrast to the apathy of her company. There can be little doubt that she is intended to be invisible to them, and the artist has interposed her in the midst of what we are meant to conceive of as a continuous group. The figures then on both sides of the seated man are directing their attention to him. We probably have to understand that three warriors are about to arm themselves and set

out to battle, and are only waiting for the fourth whom they are urging to bestir himself. The winged figure then would be some demon of war, "Ἐρις, Κῆρ, or the like, who flits through their midst and hastens before them to the fray. The execution throughout is slight and hasty, but the vase is no

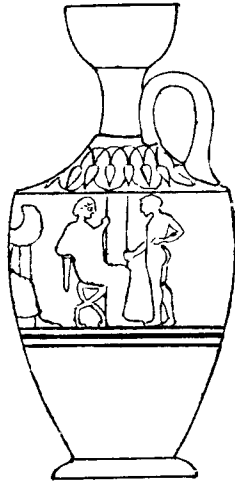


FIG. 8a.

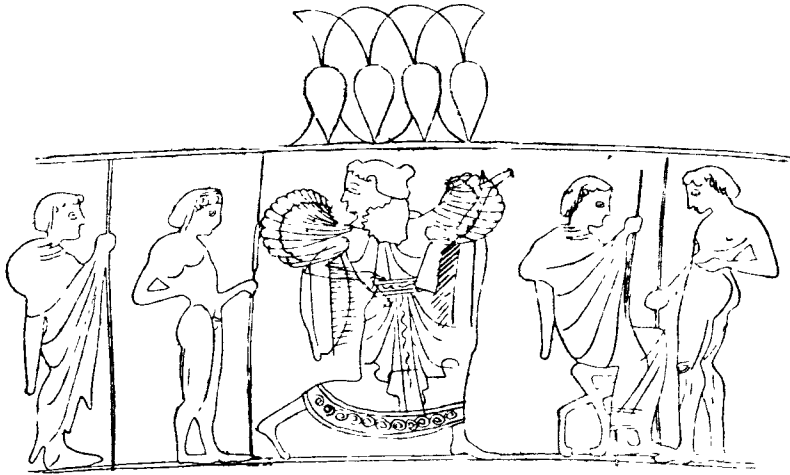


FIG. 8b.

doubt of very early date. The Κῆρ (to give her some definite name) is a good instance of that helpless mode of representation in archaic art which sets the figure in three distinct planes: her head is turned in profile to the left, her body is *en face*, and her legs run to the right. Her right hand rests on her waist, her left is uplifted before her. The whole action recalls a number of



similar representations of the Gorgon. Her wings, like those of the sphinx already described, are of the curved oriental type, but apparently with long wing-feathers below, unless these dependencies are meant for sleeves. Her face, arms, and feet are painted white. She wears her hair in a fringe. Her eye is of an elongated almond shape; the painter left a black space for it, but his assistant who did the scratching has with brutal surgery inserted it in the middle of her cheek. With similar carelessness he has carried his wing-scratching over the arms. But if the 'prentice hand has been careless of anatomy, he has paid particular attention to the lady's costume. She wears a sort of Zouave jacket and a long gown with elaborate border of spiral ornaments gathered at the waist by a girdle, alternate folds of the drapery being relieved by purple colour. The profusion of incised lines gives a certain richness to an otherwise rather lifeless figure. Of the warriors there is little to be said. Their drapery also is enlivened by purple patches, their hair falls heavy behind down to the neck, and they have not the almond eye of the more delicate sex but a staring circular orb.

From the same tomb was derived a plain red vase of much the same shape, but with two handles. It is unadorned save for three black-glazed lines round the juncture of body and shoulder, on which latter is incised with precise careful lines the monogram  $\mathfrak{K}$ . Again the tomb seemed to have been tampered with, for it contained a black-glazed ribbed cup with impressed patterns, and a small lecythus of red-figured technique decorated with a palmette, of the very latest style.



FIG. 9.

K. 48 is an important tomb. One chamber had been robbed, but just outside the door were found, among fragments of Cypriote pottery and of a crude little terra-cotta horseman, three pieces from the centre of a fine archaic black-figured cylix (fig. 9). Represented is a bearded Dionysus seated on a cross-legged stool, holding a large rhyton. In front of him survives a white

arm, probably the remnant of a Maenad. Between is a row of dots similar to those on the next vase.

The door of the other chamber was intact, and inside was found the cylix depicted in fig. 10. A cavalier, nude but for a white cloth about his loins, reins in with both hands the impatience of his high-mettled horse.



FIG. 10.

The latter is stoutly built above and slender in the legs, the hinder pair of which are very curiously articulated to the body. He has the thick high neck, bold front, and proud bearing, which the Greeks seem to have particularly fancied, and is evidently intended to be a noble and spirited animal. In front is a man who walks in the delicate archaic fashion on his toes. He

holds in his right hand a white fillet, and raises his left in front of him, but looks round apparently at the hoofs of the horse. A purple-bordered chlamys is thrown loosely round his chest and twisted over his left arm, the ends falling loose. The hair of both men and the mane and tail of the horse are coloured purple. Incised lines are sparingly used and not one is wasted. The style is not finished but has a certain strength and vigour. The dots in the field underneath, between the figures, above the horse's and footman's heads, and behind the rider, are not letters, but a sort of survival of letters, to which the eye had become accustomed. Doubtless the vase was intended to celebrate an agonistic victory, the successful competitor in a horse-race advances to receive his crown.

There was a second figured cylix in the same chamber, but the inside surface has been destroyed and the design perished. A black-figured lecythus, however, has come off better and is but slightly damaged. It is of the same shape as that from *K. 33*, and bears a scene of four figures on the body and two smaller figures on the shoulder. A helmeted warrior armed with a spear runs to the left, the greater part of his person being hidden behind his large round shield. By a strange conceit the palmette which decorates the middle of the shoulder of the vase is made to grow out of his helmet like a plume. Facing the warrior stand two draped bearded figures, and behind him is a third. Purple is used on the helmet and palmette and on the drapery of the figures. Up on the shoulder stand, one on each side of the palmette, two very similar draped figures, also apparently bearded. The work is careless and hasty throughout. If anything is represented perhaps it is an athlete in the panoply race.

With these vases were found a Cypriote jug, the three-branched foot of an iron candelabrum, three small black lecythi with red shoulders (one of them with alternate dots and dashes round the shoulder), a bronze mirror, and no less than seven cylices decorated outside with a band of palmettes and lotus buds carelessly painted in black and purple-red with white dots. Similar cylices were found in *K. 4* (two), *K. 7*, and *K. 46*, cups with much the same pattern in *K. 21* and *K. 45*, cylices with black dot and ray pattern occupying the whole external field in *K. 4* and *A. 20*, a cylix with leaf and ray pattern in *A. 2*, and an askos with black lines radiating from a central boss in *K. 65*.

Probably a late survival of the black-figured style are the slender lecythi with black palmettes, ivy branches, maeanders, etc., on white ground. Two were found in tomb 1 and two in *B. 11*.<sup>1</sup> The former tomb yielded also a large black-glazed cotyle with ivy pattern in pale creamy yellow.

Two more pieces of black-figured ware must just be mentioned. Both are of most degraded style, the one the body of a little lecythus with three seated figures playing on musical instruments (*K. 2*), the other a fragment with a Satyr (*K. 49*).

Where our black-figured vases were manufactured, whether in Greece

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<sup>1</sup> Possibly also one in tomb 7.

Asia, or Africa, I must leave others to determine. They none of them much answer to our ideas of Attic art, but the notion that careless and inferior work could not have been produced both in an early period and in Athens has probably already received its death-blow.

5. *Red-figured pottery*.—Among the red-figured vases three stand out in the front rank of interest. The first is a lecythus of the usual straight type, from *A*. 6. A female figure draped in long chiton and himation stands facing to right at an altar, over which her extended right hand holds two ivy shoots. In her left hand she carries a thyrsus, the cone inclined back behind her. Her head is crowned with ivy, her hair gathered up behind, but a lock hangs down between her ear and cheek. The altar is of a common type, with a central drum between a broad base and broad top upon which rests an object, perhaps a bowl or cup. The style, which is strong and severe although not of any extraordinary excellence, seems to indicate the latter part of the sixth century. The eye is quite incorrectly drawn for a profile view. The under garment is distinguished by markings in brown not black. The vase was found in a shattered condition and is much damaged. As to the scene, the thyrsus and ivy sufficiently define it as a sacrifice to Dionysus.

The second vase is a cotyle from *B*. 12. On the one side a female figure, clad in a long robe with *διπλοῖς*, stands to front with both feet foreshortened. Her left hand is extended and bears a long flaming torch, the end of which rests on the ground. Her hair is closely bound by what looks like a metal diadem. On the other side stands a male figure (to right) muffled in his upper garment, under which show the spangled skirts and embroidered border of a long tunic. His right hand is enveloped in his drapery, his left is advanced and holds a thyrsus, his hair is bound in a plain square head-band. Behind him is an altar. The two sides of the vase are inscribed with the words *καλὸς* and *καλοε* respectively: if the latter is not a slip of the brush, it possibly stands for *καλὸς εἶ*. The cotyle, although found in several pieces not all lying in one spot, is complete. The surface about the upper part of the male figure is much damaged, but the other side is in good condition. The style is mature, and seems to belong to the rather sparsely represented period of the final transition from stiffness to complete freedom. In the slight awkwardness of the attitude of the female figure, in her foreshortened feet, and in a not unpleasing touch of severity in her air, we recognize traces of the elder style, but the figure is none the less a most graceful and charming one. In the persons represented we may see the god and goddess of a Chthonian character so often coupled together in ancient art, to whom are loosely given the various names Dionysus, Iacchus, etc., and Kore, Hecate, Artemis, and the like.

The third of these three vases is the incomplete lecythus from tomb 2 (Pl. IV.), the laborious search for which has already been described. The vase is a stemless lecythus of the fourth century type, with white and gold. In shape, technique, and style, it very closely resembles the lecythus found in Mr. Williamson's excavations with a representation of Oedipus slaying the

Sphinx.<sup>1</sup> The scene seems to be the Judgment of Paris, who sits upon a rock and leans upon a tree, resting his left hand upon a club. He wears the Phrygian cap. Opposite him is Aphrodite seated with Eros clinging behind her shoulder; behind whom are two figures, perhaps Pallas, unarmed, also seated and proffering an olive shoot, and behind her, laying her hands over her shoulders, Hera, her hair bound with a diadem. Whether the figure on the left of Paris is the local nymph, or the seductive Helen conjured up by Aphrodite, I will not take upon me to decide. But our plate may safely be left to tell its own tale; all who see it must feel what a beautiful and delicate piece of work the vase must have been.

The other examples of red-figured technique may be briefly dealt with. *B. 12*, besides the cotyle above described, gave us a pretty lamp, shaped like a duck, now in the Cyprus Museum. On the red ground the plumage, beak, eyes, and other details are drawn with firm, delicate lines, in good black glaze. The shape is not uncommon, and may be paralleled, *e.g.* by an early lamp from Camirus in the British Museum, and another of late style with figures in relief on the sides, or a little lamp with black cross lines and white dots, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, but I am not aware of any other example in the best red-figure manner. In the same tomb also was a black-glazed cotyle, with two painted red lines round it, a sort of inversion of the technique on the vase from *K. 33*, with black-glazed lines. Similarly treated are a small lecythus from *K. 19*, and a round-bellied jug with short neck from *K. 21*.

In *K. 4* was found a cylix, probably early, with the familiar Gorgoneion in the centre with staring eyes and tongue out. Tomb 10 produced a small lecythus with a Maenad holding a thyrsus, of fairly good style, and a little aryballoid lecythus with goose from *K. 1* is not without merit. Lecythi of inferior style came from *K. 12* (Sphinx), *B. 3* (man and basket), and *B. 9* (Sphinx). Still more degraded is the style of a cotyle from *A. 1* with two male figures on each side.

To be classed with the later red-figured vases are a lecythus with palmette (*K. 33*), a cylix with palmettes from the handles (*K. 36*), and a cup (*B*) with black and white decoration on red ground, including a broad band of upright white twigs alternating with vertical black spaces, and a narrower zone of white olive leaf and berry pattern.<sup>2</sup> With these may be put a small lecythus from tomb *S*, with a sort of cable pattern in black on a band left red, and several little lecythi of the late style with black cross lines and white dots, which is to be seen in most collections<sup>3</sup> (*C. 14, 16, A. 7* (two)).

Quite a special feature of the find is the abundance of little aski and lamps, which as most of them are red-figured, had better be treated of here all together. There are a number of varieties, but little distinction of style.

<sup>1</sup> Published *J. H. S.* viii. pl. lxxxi.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps of Italian manufacture; cf. half-a-dozen precisely similar cups in the Naples Museum. It is to be noted that the cup bears two symbols from the Cypriote syllabary scratched

underneath it, the same which appear on the lamp with moulded lion's head spout from the same tomb, mentioned below.

<sup>3</sup> One is figured, *Compte Rendu*, 1863, pl. ii. 1. cf. p. 145.

Probably the majority of those found belong to the fourth and third centuries. Very similar little vessels were found in considerable numbers in South Russia and in the Cyrenaica. The usual decoration of the figured aski is an animal to each side of the handle. The style is usually careless and poor, but some few examples show a better type of work, *e.g.* those with a Satyr on one side who seems to be imitating the animal on the other *e.g.* *K.* 24 (goat), *K.* 51 (bull), *B.* 4 (bull).<sup>1</sup> An askos from 8 is larger than the general run, and has a raised central boss and two female heads on each side, the pairs facing one another. There is a similar specimen in the British Museum from the Cyrenaica, and an askos with two female heads of kindred type in the Ashmolean museum. Some few of the red-figured vessels of this class combine the stirrup handle with a tubular circular body (*K.* 65, *A.* 20). The deep shape, usually with a tube through the middle perhaps for fixing on the peg of a stand or bracket, appears in *K.* 24 (red fig.) and *A.* 21, *B.* 8 (plain black). Some aski are not figured but bear patterns of the red-figure style, palmettes &c. Many are plain black, a few have moulded black heads occupying the whole top (1 (negro) *A.* 2 (Gorgoneion) *M.* 3 (Silenus)), one has the form of a knuckle-bone<sup>2</sup> (*K.* 11). The distinction between aski and lamps is probably arbitrary, but is convenient to indicate a difference of form. The latter usually have an opening in the centre besides the spout, and the handle is not a stirrup but a small ring-handle at the side. The decoration is in general much the same, but one or two lamps may be specially mentioned—lamp from *B.* with three red figure beasts badly drawn, one of them must be a lion, for his head, which is moulded, forms the spout—pretty lamp with olive leaf pattern *K.* 35—black lamp covered with little impressed patterns, *K.* 20.

The following list will give some idea of the important place which these little vases occupy among our red-figured finds:—

Aski—*red-figured*.—*Oven site*. *L.* *S.* *Hag. Dem.* 5, 6 (two), 7, 8, 10, 19 (two), 22. *Site K.* 12, 19 (two), 20, 24 (two, one deep), 28, 29 (three), 34, 40, 45, 51, 53, 58, 59, 65 (circular). *Site A.* 8, 20 (circular). *Site B.* 4 (two), 8 (two), 9, 11. *Site M.* 3.

*Patterned.* 5, *K.* 65, *B.* 8.

*Black (plain).* *S.* 2, 10, *K.* 2, *K.* 9, *K.* 14, *K.* 44 (two), *K.* 51, *A.* 21 (deep), *B.* 3 (two), *B.* 4, *B.* 8 (deep).

(*With moulded heads.*) 1, *A.* 2, *M.* 3.

*Knuckle-bone.* *K.* 11.

*Lamps, red-figured.* *B.*

*Patterned.* *D.* 17, *K.* 35, *A.* 8.

*Black*, open with handle behind *B.* 12, *M.* 3, with impressed patterns *K.* 20, black-glazed Roman shape *K.* 53, *B.* 9.

6. *Black-glazed pottery*.—Formed the staple of the imported Greek fictile wares, and was found in extraordinary quantity. The shapes represented are

<sup>1</sup> Cf. with bull, Brit. Mus. E. 494.

<sup>2</sup> Not uncommon; one is figured in the

*Compte Rendu*. One from the Cyrenaica, Brit. Mus.

very numerous, but probably three quarters of the total number of vases were saucers with or without a handle and cylices with or without a stem. *Lecythi* also were found, as usual, of the aryballoid form, and the *cantharus*, *cotyle*, and *askos* appeared not infrequently. There were jugs, cups, bowls, lamps, and platters of various types. The *pyxis* (10) and *amphoriscus* (*B.* 4) were confined to single instances, the latter was covered with little impressed patterns, *palmettes*, &c. One little jug was distinguished by an abnormally high handle (*A.* 8), another with spout and ring-handle to the side had no neck (*K.* 47). The tiny vessels like ointment pots without a lid were fairly common, one of them had a stem (*K.* 21). The saucers and flatter vessels often derive interest from the symbols (now from the Cypriote syllabary, now from the Greek alphabet), which are so often found scratched underneath them, but these will be noticed in another section.

These black-glazed vases are either plain or bear little impressed patterns, *palmettes*, circles, strokes, &c., stamped on the clay. The stamping was apparently as a rule done separately for each member in the decoration; each *palmette* was singly impressed, and so on, for the arrangement is often careless and irregular. Ribbed or fluted vessels were comparatively rare (*S.* *K.* 24, *K.* 33 (stamped), *K.* 35 (stamped), *K.* 42, *A.* 20).

Occasionally parts of the vase, *e.g.* the centre of a *cylix* or saucer, or a zone on the outside, were not black but red-glazed. We found no instance of impressed patterns on this red and black variety.

Here and there we came upon a saucer red-glazed all over (*e.g.* 10, *K.* 62), and sometimes stamped. There is no difference from the black ware except in colour, and that may be due merely to a difference in the firing.

The plain and stamped varieties of the black-glazed ware are about equally common, and both extend down, I should say, well into Ptolemaic times, perhaps as far as the Roman period. The former appears constantly in our earliest tombs, and the latter in three of them, *K.* 4, *K.* 24, and *K.* 33. Of these *K.* 24 and *K.* 33 are very strongly suspected of a mixture of contents of different dates, the black-figured vases found in them were all more or less broken, and accompanied by red-figured ware to which one would naturally assign the fourth century as the earliest possible date. On the other hand the presumption is that *K.* 4 is a fairly early tomb, of the first half of the fifth or even of the sixth century. In it was found a black-glazed two-handled cup with several rings of carelessly impressed patterns. It is probable therefore that the stamped variety may be as early in its origin as the plain, but a single instance is but a slender foundation for the inference, and at least the impressed patterns do not seem to have become very common before the fourth century. Dr. Herrmann,<sup>1</sup> vouches for them in sixth century tombs but does not state his evidence, which would doubtless have given desirable confirmation to *K.* 4.

The appended catalogue of the tombs in which black-glazed vessels were

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<sup>1</sup> p. 30.

found will give some inadequate idea of the abundance of this ware in the Poli necropoleis.

Black-glazed pottery (*plain*).

*Oven site.* B, D, E, F, L, N, P, S.

*Hag. Dem.* 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 23.

*Site K.* 1, 2, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 21, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 33, 35, 38, 40, 42, 42a, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 55, 57, 59, 60, 62, 65, 66, 67.

„ A. 1, 2, 6, 8, 20, 21, 23, 27.

„ B. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12.

„ M. 3.

„ T. 5.

*Stamped.*

*Oven site.* B, F, H, O, S.

*Hag. Dem.* 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17, 19.

*Site K.* 4, 11, 19, 20, 24, 29, 33, 34, 35, 40, 44, 45, 49, 62, 65.

„ A. 2, 8, 20, 21.

„ B. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11.

„ M. 3.

„ V. 2.

Black and red-glazed vessels.

*Oven site.* B, L, P. *Hag. Dem.* 7, 10. *Site K.* 4, 10, 13, 24, 65. A. 8, B. 4, B. 8, M. 3, T. 2, T. 3.

7. *Terra-cottas*.<sup>1</sup> Numerous, but many of them very much broken. It might be expected that the terra-cottas would throw some light on the chronology of the tombs, but they seem on the contrary rather to need than to supply dates. There is little style about most of them, and some that look among the earliest are found in combination with others of the finest and most facile execution (*e.g.* in tomb 1). The best of the heads is a female head of good severe type and far above the average in style (tomb A). Inferior to this, but still above the average are the fragments of a larger female head from 9, and the head and shoulders of a female figure from 22. The latter has fluffy hair bound with a thick head-band, and pendent earrings, sharp beaky nose, and pronounced features. The type and style are not good, but the workmanship is fairly careful. The head bears a general resemblance to one figured on Dr. Herrmann's *Tafel* 2. It is probably to be assigned to the Ptolemaic period.

The terra-cottas fall naturally under a few types. (a) Very crude little figures of a kind well known in Cyprus (*cf.* for instance Cesnola's *Cyprus*, pp. 150 and 164 the horseman, or *Salaminia*, fig. 247, 249-50, although the decoration is not parallel). These are sometimes horsemen, sometimes male, sometimes female figures. They are occasionally painted, *e.g.* those from 15 (a

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Herrmann, *op. cit.*, esp. § III.



bright crimson red). These crude little images are rarely found actually within the tombs, but more often in the shaft. They appeared in 10, 11, 15, *K.* 1, *K.* 3, *K.* 48, *K.* 52.

(*b*) Small female statuettes, holding the right hand at the right breast, and the left by the side catching their drapery. The right hand probably always held a flower, although it is not often plastically indicated with any distinctness. Sometimes coloured. A pair from *A.* 6, found with the archaic red-figured lecythus, are interesting, for there can be no doubt about their genuinely archaic character. The drapery is exactly parallel to that of some of the early statues in the Acropolis Museum at Athens. The type seems to be a very stable one. (*B.* 1 (five), 5, 7, *K.* 4, *K.* 17, *A.* 6 (two, one with traces of red), *B.* 3, and perhaps another instance or two).

(*c*) Small standing female figures without particular action. The greater number average only a few inches in height, but a few are rather larger, *e.g.* one from tomb *C*, which including the base but without the head measured seventeen inches. These statuettes were very numerous. A fine thoroughly early-looking example of the kind is the figurine from *B.* 14, now in the Cyprus Museum. The details, which are elaborate and carefully executed, are painted in red yellow and black. The other contents of the tomb were poor and insignificant. Many of the standing figures are almost columnar, straight, tall in proportion to their breadth, and rounded behind. Others are flatter and approximate to reliefs. The latter, I believe, were often produced by stamping in a mould, the want of precision in the outlines and details of many of them seems to confirm the notion.

Standing female figures were found in *Oven site. C.* *Site K.* 1, 15, 24, 28, 29, 35, 38, 56. *Hag. Dem.* 16, 20, 22, 24. *A.* 4. *B.* 5, *B.* 14. *M.* 3. *T.* 1. Some of the less distinct may really belong to the preceding type. The statuette from *T.* 1 (headless) is painted pink and white in a manner which no less than its style recalls some of the Tanagra figurines.

(*d*) Squatting figures of free style, both male and female. 1, 4, *K.* 42*a*, *B.* 3, *B.* 4.

(*e*) Little animals, usually terra-cotta but occasionally of soft limestone. *Boar or pig F.* 13 (two). *Bird F* (stone), *J.* 8, *K.* 15, *K.* 23, *K.* 29, *K.* 42*a*, 1 (cock and dove). *Dog H.* 4. *Calf (?) K.* 1. *Lion K.* 34 (stone), 4. *Tortoise 4*, 13, 17, *K.* 42*a*. *Uncertain K.* 35 (stone), *M.* 3.

(*f*) Larger terra-cotta figures, found usually outside the tombs in the shaft or *δρόμος*.<sup>1</sup> There are two types (1) male figures reclining on a couch, the left elbow propped on cushions. The idea is obviously that of the so-called 'funeral feast.' In one or two instances (*e.g.* one from *K.* 8), there seems to have been a female figure at the foot of the bed.<sup>2</sup> Two terra-cotta plaques were found with figures in relief, which probably came from the side of such beds—*K.* 8, six figures extant, and *K.* 63, one and a half. The scene does not explain itself, one of the figures on the relief from *K.* 8 is up a tree.

<sup>1</sup> *cf.* Hermann, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> I picked up a somewhat similar fragment of fairly good style in the hedge of the vineyard, no doubt a relic of the former excavations.

The style is extremely bad. This relief is in the Cyprus Museum. (2) Figures usually female, but in one or two cases apparently male, seated, often on a high-backed chair. (A very fine instance figured Herrmann taf. 1.) In one instance (*K.* 23) a male figure holds in his left hand an animal, and in his right a round-bodied vase, if the latter really fits on in this position.

These large figures, which when complete must have measured from 15 to 18 inches in height or length, were very common. They seem to have been formed by the aid of a mould, the several parts being made separately and then combined; many were found resolved into *disjecta membra*, and the divisions seemed not to be true breaks. Not in one single instance did we find a figure with its head on, or any head that would fit on. But it is natural to connect with the class the larger terra-cotta heads which were found in considerable numbers. The male heads are almost always bearded, although the beard is only very lightly indicated on *e.g.* the coloured head from *A.* 9. Most of them are crowned with a wreath of pointed leaves. A painted head of exactly the same type, which came from a Roman tomb near Trebizond, has been shown to me in the British Museum by Mr. Cecil Smith. None of the heads we found can well be placed earlier than the middle of the Ptolemaic age and the style of most of them is discreditable to any period, but Dr. Herrmann (taf. 2) gives an illustration of one which is of a better type. The female heads make a better impression, probably only because the potter has left them just as they came from the mould, having no beard or wreath to tempt him to meddle with them. Many wear the edge of their mantle carried up over the back of the head.

The style of the reclining and seated figures is as poor as that of the heads, the drapery is lifeless and heavy, and the folds are rather laid upon it than produced by it. Yet it would be rash in view of the usual quality of Cypriote work, and the character of some of the tombs outside which some of these figures, or rather fragments, were found, to assert that they were not made in a time when far better things might be expected even of the furnishing undertaker.

*Figures.* Oven site. *A, C, E, F, H, I, M, N, O, R.* *Hag. Dem.* 5, 6, 22 ?, 24. *Site K.* 1, 8, 17, 23, 36, 40, 47, 58, 63. *Site A.* 5, 9, 12, 14, 16, 25, *B.* 4, *B.* 5.

*Heads* (bearded). *J, K, L, Q, K.* 5, *K.* 42, *K.* 63 ?, 17, *A.* 9, *A.* 12, *A.* 25.

*Heads* (female). *Q, K.* 23, *K.* 41, *A.* 5, *A.* 9, *A.* 12, *A.* 14, *A.* 16, *A.* 25, *B.* 5.

The above are all of the larger size, but *small* reclining figures were sometimes found, *e.g.* in 1 and *K.* 43 (two), and *small* seated female figures, *e.g.* in *N, K.* 4, *K.* 34, 1, 3, 8, 9, 14. Sometimes these latter hold babies (1, *K.* 34), and in one instance (1) two figures are seated together. There remain a number of heads which might belong to any small figures, or possibly one or two of them to figurines from vases. That from *A* has already been noticed, perhaps one from 24 deserves passing mention. It is a

little male head with an emotional expression, that reminds one of the later schools of sculpture. The head is perhaps of the second century. Trunkless heads came from *A*, *C*, *H*, *M*. 5, 22, 24, *K*. 17, *K*. 19, *K*. 25, *K*. 36, *K*. 63, *A*. 6 and perhaps some other tombs.

8. *Jewellery*.—Plentiful enough, but most of it very cheap stuff. That from tomb 10 was however of high quality. It included:—

(a) A bronze gilt ring with dark green scarab, engraved with an Assyrian-like king sitting over a sphinx (perhaps the side of his chair), opposite to a candelabrum, over which is a flaming cone (Fig. 1), round



FIG. 1.

the edge a cable border. A little plain scarab was found in *B*. 3, on a bronze ring which had perhaps been silver-plated, and a rude scarabaeoid in *T*. 4, with scratchings crudely representing a face.

(b) A pair of bronze silver-plated bracelets, the ends terminating in gilt rams' heads (Pl. V. 1). The work is fine, the fleece, the crinkling of the horns, the lines about the eyes and nose, &c., are carefully and effectively rendered. The eyes, one of which is intact, were filled with a white composition and painted with a brown iris and black pupil. The design is a familiar one (cf. a bracelet with lions' heads Cesnola's *Cyprus* p. 311, and a similar pair from Kertch in the Ashmolean Museum, &c.).

(c) Three gold pendants from a necklace, delicately finished with granulated patterns (Pl. V. 5). The shape is the ordinary amphora-like one, a similar pendant, but with only a line of granules at the top and bottom of the neck, was found in *K*. 14, and another in *B*. 4. (Cf. Herrmann, fig. 11. *Salaminia*, figs. 11, 15, &c.) Three little clay pendants shaped like vases were found in *K*. 36.<sup>1</sup>

(d) Several bronze gilt spirals ending in lions' heads (Pl. V. 3). Cf. *Cyprus*, p. 310, and pl. xxviii.).

(e) A pair of bronze armlets with traces of silver plating ending in snakes' heads. Similar armlets came from *B*. 9, and *M*. 1 (cf. *Salaminia*, fig. 70: the traces of linen noticed by Major di Cesnola are paralleled by similar traces on our armlets from *B*. 9).

(f) A small gold ring found in the soil thrown out of the tomb; it bears in relief the device of a lightly draped standing female figure, perhaps Aphrodite.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Salaminia*, figs. 207-8-9.

The finger rings from the tombs have several noteworthy features. Many of them are so small that scarcely a child could wear them, they were probably made on purpose for sepulchral use. One, however, a bronze signet ring from tomb *B*, remains to this day on the bone of the finger that once wore it. The materials for rings seem to have been gold, silver, bronze (sometimes gilt or silver plated), iron, and glass. Besides those already mentioned with scarabs, only one ring was found set with a stone—the ring from the sarcophagus in *K*. 30, discovered with a silver coin of Alexander the Great, now in the Cyprus Museum. It is a small but very massive gold ring, with a large semi-transparent red stone, unfortunately not engraved. Small gold rings like that from 10 were found also in 19 (engraved nude figure holding wreath and taenia, very poor style, Pl. V. 9), 22 (bee and two birds (?) in relief), and *A*. 20 (engraved winged figure, Pl. V. 10). A metal collet almost invariably occupied the place of a stone and was usually engraved, but only in the case of the gold rings is it possible to make out the device without special cleaning. Silver finger rings were discovered in *N*, *K*. 9, *K*. 11, *K*. 23, *K*. 44, *K*. 65, *B*. 3, *B*. 4, *B*. 12. Bronze in *B* and *A*. 17. Iron in *L*, *N*, *K*. 45, *K*. 65, and *A*. 20 (perhaps silver plated). Rings, but rather for the suspension of ornaments, &c., than for the finger, of silver and bronze gilt in 19, *K*. 26, *K*. 28, *K*. 33, *A*. 17, *A*. 20, *B*. 4, *B*. 11. *B*. 4 produced an opaque white glass signet ring, the seal unfortunately had fallen out. Similar glass rings are figured in *Salaminia* figs. 91 and 175. A little oval of opaque white glass was found in tomb *S*.

Spirals were among the commonest articles of the precious metals (Pl. V. 3). The following list includes one or two of bronze, but the majority are silver and some bronze gilt. Perhaps some of the very small ones are rather to be regarded as links, such as seem to have formed chains in *B*, *L*, and *K*. 1. *Spirals*. *C*. 8, 10, *K*. 4, *K*. 12, *K*. 19, *K*. 26, *K*. 28, *K*. 44, *K*. 60, *K*. 64, *K*. 67, *A*. 18, *A*. 20, *A*. 21, *B*. 4, *B*. 9, *B*. 11, *B*. 12, *M*. 1.

Under the head of bracelets we may add to those already noticed two and a half silver bracelets from *B*, fairly broad and solid with raised lines round them, and what is probably a small silver bangle terminating in a snake's head, from *B*. 12. Very thin silver fragments perhaps from similar ornaments were found in *B*. 11 and *K*. 4. Certain little square plates of silver, two from *B*. 12, and three from *K*. 67, are interesting. They seem to bear each two embossed female busts, and strung together like the larger silver plates of the girdle published by Dr. Dümmler (*Jahrbuch* II.) might have formed a bracelet or the like. Until they are cleaned it is impossible to speak of their style, but they generally recall the little plates published by Major di Cesnola, *Salaminia*, pl. ii. 15, *D*, and by Dr. Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* taf. 7, Nos. 2—7, and taf. 9, Nos. 11, 12.

To the pendants must be added a very thin little gold embossed double-sphinx from *K*. 28 (Pl. V. 7), a couple of silver pendants with beads from *K*. 41, and several crescent-shaped silver objects, perhaps from a necklace, *K*. 4. For the last cf. *Salaminia*, pl. ii. 15, *E*. Dr. Dümmler suggests that these crescent-shaped objects may have held scarabs, but if so, it is rather singular

that several should be found together. A little glass pendant from *K.* 22 is shaped like a grotesque head. The face is yellow, the hair and eyes blue, the top-knot over the forehead forms a loop for suspension, and there are ringlets to each side of the face. In the Ashmolean Museum are several such heads from Sakkâra and elsewhere, two of them exactly resembling ours, cf. *Salaminia*, figs. 200 to 203, especially 202.

One or two little light-blue porcelain ornaments may be noticed here—a minute seated figure of an animal-headed divinity, and a bead on a bronze wire (*K.* 1), a pair of ‘sacred eyes’ (*K.* 4), and a fluted bead (*A.* 12). Beads were very common, they were either of gold plain or ribbed, and often with a clay core, coloured glass, or clay coloured or gilded. Sixteen gold beads were found in tomb 9, fifty-three of gilt clay in *K.* 32.

Earrings of thin gold came from *F* (with beads upon it), *H*, *K.* 41, and *B.* 4. The one from *K.* 41 (Pl. V. 6) is finished off with a dolphin’s head, a very common type of design, cf. for example *Salaminia*, the plate of earrings facing p. 39, *Cyprus*, pl. i. and p. 310, *Compte Rendu* 1865, pl. iii. 38. That from *B.* 4 is a circlet with a little winged Eros in front, also not uncommon, cf. *Salaminia* fig. 39, *Compte Rendu* 1876, pl. iii. 40, 41. The silver earrings (*K.* 4, *A.* 6, *A.* 21, *B.* 9, *B.* 11, *B.* 12) were most of them of the familiar form like a wool-sack with a wire from the one corner.

Tomb *B* yielded a silver clasp-hook shaped like a snake in the position of a flattened  $\Omega$  (Pl. V. 12), *K.* 41, a silver fibula set with a pearl. A little silver object like a diminutive sword, from the latter tomb, remains a mystery (Pl. V. 2). Two mouthpieces, the one silver (*B.* 9) (Pl. V. 11), the other of thin beaten gold (*K.* 63) (Pl. V. 8) are interesting. They are shaped to fit over the lips, and have a little hole at each corner for a thread to tie them on. Similar mouthpieces have apparently been found upon the lips of Egyptian mummies.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Herrmann, who does not seem aware that they were previously known, figures one (fig. 19), and Major di Cesnola two (fig. 8, and pl. ii. 10).

Mouthpieces of a different sort are the silver objects like candlestick tops, several of which were found in *B.* 9 and *B.* 11. They are perhaps intended to fit round the lip of the alabaster ointment bottles, so often found, which are without the wide rim characteristic of the little vessels.

A little thin gold *étui* (Pl. V. 4), with raised patterns and lid, appeared in tomb 5.<sup>2</sup> It contained nothing but sand. Gold leaf seemed to be a distinctive mark of late tombs. It appeared usually in the form of diamond-shaped leaves,<sup>3</sup> perhaps from the actual prototypes of the wreaths worn by the bearded terra-cotta heads. Gold leaf was found in *K.* 22, *K.* 41, *K.* 53, *K.* 63, 21, *A.* 12.

9. *Glass*.—Enamelled glass alabastron-shaped bottles were found in *K.* 2, *K.* 32, and *B.* 12. The fragments from *K.* 32 appear to be of very inferior

<sup>1</sup> *Salaminia*, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> A larger one of bronze is figured in *Salaminia*, fig. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Xylino tombs at Kuklia, *J. H. S.* ix. p. 269. *Salaminia*, figs. 232-3.

quality. The bottle from *K. 2* is of the ordinary type in blue and white wavy lines, that from *B. 12* is white with purple lines, very similar to one in the British Museum from Camirus. I do not think that the account given of the method of producing the zigzag patterns given by Major di Cesnola and MM. Perrot and Chipiez is correct. It seems to me that lines of glass of the second colour must have been wound round the vase in circles or spirals, and pressed in by hot rolling. A pointed instrument would then be drawn alternately up and down the still viscous surface, much as a brush or comb is drawn through the floating colours which are to be applied to the variegated paper inside the binding of books, drawing the colours into crescents or zigzags. A final polishing would turn the vessel out finished as we see it.

Little blue and white glass buttons were found in *H.* and *M. 2*, the former with a little bit of bronze wire through it. Similar buttons of bone turned up in *K. 20*, *K. 23* (nine), *A. 5*, *A. 7*, *A. 8*. They can hardly be whorls, as they are generally called. An apparently genuine whorl, however, was found in *M. 2*, made of polished stone.

Two pretty glass cups came from tomb *H*, one of them of a fine amber colour. Ruby-coloured glass fragments were found in *E. A. 12* yielded a cup with ribs laid on outside, *M. 2* the fragments of another with flutings and leaf patterns (vine?), and a glass tumbler bearing in raised letters the word ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ, 'Good cheer,' cf. *Salaminia*, fig. 195, p. 173, καὶ εὐφραίνου, καταχαίρε καὶ εὐφραίνου on glass mugs.

Fragments of glass with concentric circles painted upon them in yellow were found in tomb 21. Ordinary transparent glass bottles, &c., appeared in *E, H, K. 32, K. 41, K. 50, 20, A. 3, A. 12, M. 2*.

10. *Bronze and iron.*—Bronze mirrors and strigils, and iron strigils and knives, were staple products of the tombs, and seemed to persist without variation from the earliest to the latest. None of the mirrors were found to be engraved. A curious combination is seen in a bronze strigil with an iron handle (*K. 11*). The knives were of the common type with pointed ends and a slight forward curve in the upper part of the blade. Many were found with remnants of wooden handles adhering to them.

A double-headed iron axe was found in *B. 13*, fragments of iron swords in 2, 21, and *A. 2*, of iron spear-heads in 2, 8, 18, and 22. In 2 was also a large bronze spear-head, a ringed bronze tube with a rim (perhaps part of a handle of some sort), and a small bronze palmette ornament of good workmanship and well preserved. Bronze platters came from 22 and *B. 4* (two), bronze lamps with pinched spouts, like those noticed among the coarse pottery, from 22 (two) and *K. 59*, and bronze bowls or remnants of them from *V. 1, B. 22*, and *K. 1*. They seem usually to have had swing handles over the top. Little bronze rods a few inches long thickened at one or both ends were very common, one (*K. 32*) had an oar-shaped blade, to which parallels may be seen in most collections, cf. *Cyprus*, pl. v., and *Salaminia*, pl. iv., *H*.

### 11. *Miscellaneous*:—

*Alabaster bottles* were found in great numbers, most of them were of the canonical, but one or two of the amphora shape. Cheap stone vessels of the alabastron form turned up here and there (*M*, *K*. 54, *A*. 19), and one example of clay (*A*. 9).

*Coins* were extremely scarce, and in bad condition; *K*. 30, silver, Alexander the Great; *M*. 3, small silver, and *A*. 12, small copper, probably very late; *K*. 50, fourteen copper coins, ranging apparently from Trajan to Constantine.

*Pottery*, a couple of eccentric vases; the one (*K*. 2) a fragmentary cylix exactly analogous to the black glazed ware with impressed patterns, not black, however, but chocolate brown and white; the other a three-handled brownish-red glazed pot, somewhat of the form of the vase figured *Salaminia*, fig. 280, with lid, and patterns added in cream colour. Round the body a sort of creeper design has been marked with a blunt tool before glazing. The tomb from which this vase was taken (*A*. 22) contained besides only two coarse jugs.

*Shells* were occasionally met with; they no doubt served the poorer Arsinoeans in place of saucer-lamps, &c. The instances are *H*, *J*, *K*. 32, *K*. 41, *K*. 62.

Finally, it may be of interest, in view of the prominence of the horse on sepulchral reliefs, to mention that horses' teeth were found in several of the tombs, a fact so easily explained without recourse to mythology or anthropology, that I should not recommend it as the basis of an argument, and here state only for what it is worth.

When we look back over the course of the excavations and review their products, the feeling is inevitable that all the hopes that were entertained of them have not been fulfilled. The reasons are not far to seek. In the first place exaggerated notions were current at home of the average quality of the tombs. It was not realized on what a large scale the excavators of 1886–7 had worked to produce their results, a scale admirably adapted to getting the best intrinsic value out of the site, but fatal to scientific accuracy. Taking only the number of tombs they thought worth recording, it will be found that they bear to ours the proportion of 8 to 3. Secondly, there were the difficulties at the outset. The failure of the first appointment of a director entailed consequences beyond the immediate loss of a month. The starting of the excavation was hurried, and its duration curtailed, for H. A. Tubbs and I, never expecting to be more than auxiliaries, had other arrangements to call us away at the beginning of the summer. The Chiflik negotiation was fruitless, the sites secured in advance were generally poor, and the barrenness of the eastern half of the vineyard was particularly disastrous, for it diverted us for a long time from the Eastern Necropolis, and fatally delayed the discovery of the promising site there.

But whatever unfulfilled hopes may have been cherished, it would be

absurd to underrate the value of the results actually attained. A large number of antiquities of very various character have been brought to light, and secured to enrich our museums in England and in Cyprus, and although they include no signed vases by the famous masters, many of them are of very high quality and importance.

Scarcely less valuable are the recorded facts of the excavation. They have already proved serviceable in furnishing a prompt refutation of certain erroneous theories about the site, which seemed likely to gain credence and authority, and they may be of assistance to future investigators. Lastly, although they do not stand forth as clearly as may be wished, some conclusions of wider application do appear probable. I can conceive that it might be plausibly argued that we have to do with a Necropolis thoroughly worked over in the Ptolemaic period, that the great mass of the find, and the tombs as we found them with few exceptions, are to be connected with *Arsinoë*, and represent the products of, say, the third century B.C. The suggestion has actually been thrown out by Dr. Dümmler (*Jahrbuch*, ii., p. 168), and beginning our work as we did among the later and inferior tombs, and noticing the striking general uniformity among the contents of all as we went on, we naturally, although unconsciously, formed some similar theory. Further experience, however, tended to modify our first hypotheses, and having striven to avoid stating any but fairly obvious conclusions in the above account, I may now give the general view to which I have been led, and now provisionally hold. Certain tombs may be distinguished as early, dating, that is, from the sixth and fifth centuries, certain others as late, from the second century downwards, but the great majority are of the central period between these two, ranging from the close of the fifth to the first decades of the second century. Within this period occurred the gap between the destruction of Marium and the foundation of *Arsinoë*, but it is hopeless to attempt to distinguish among the tombs those to be assigned to the one or the other. Many tombs indeed might almost be dated 150 years to either side of the year 400 B.C., according to fancy. The staple contents of the tombs preserve the same character unaffected by the lapse of centuries almost from first to last. Some classes of objects seem to extend down to a much later date than is generally recognized, most of the native Cypriote potteries, for instance, and terra-cottas, also the black glazed wares and red-figured vases. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon, that in the present state of Cypriote archaeology, to date the native fabrics solely by the criteria of style is to beg one of the principal questions at issue. On the other hand, some products seem to appear at earlier periods than might *a priori* have been expected, such as the black glazed ware with impressed patterns, and the inferior black- and red-figured vases. Like conflicting forces which produce an equilibrium, these two opposite impressions resulting from the evidence tend to the conclusion that all the periods are much alike, and by reducing style to a dead level of uniformity, and removing the landmarks of chronology, bring the mind of the investigator to the verge of desperation. We can only hope that future excavations under conditions more favourable to the attainment of trustworthy results will throw light on



the problems that have been raised, and in particular wish all success to the forthcoming exploration of Salamis.

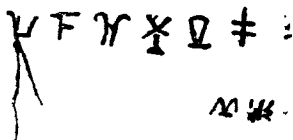
Nil desperandum Teucro duce et auspice Teucro—  
Cras ingens iterabimus aequor.

J. A. R. M.

#### INSCRIPTIONS FROM POLI.

THE inscriptions found at Poli were almost without exception in the Cypriote character and of sepulchral import: numbers of graffiti were however also discovered on the vases. I will deal first with the inscriptions proper, arranging them practically in the order of their finding.

1.—Sandstone block, complete, except that a chip is broken away on the left:—has been used probably as panel of tomb-door. Found in *F*. Dimensions— $10\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide  $\times$   $5\frac{1}{2}$  thick: letters  $\frac{3}{4}$  –  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. high,<sup>1</sup> in fair condition. At present in British Museum.



*pa · ra · me · no · to · se ·*  
*e · mi ·*

Παρμένοντος ἡμὶ.

The form of *mi* compares with that of the same sign, No. 14 inf. The third sign is certainly *me*: though Deecke,<sup>2</sup> No. 1, following Pierides, reads an almost identical character in an inscription from Chytri as *mi*; to whose canonic form it bears no clearly demonstrable relation. I should prefer to read *me* in Deecke's inscription; the form *mi* for the enclitic being only known in a second Chytri inscription,<sup>3</sup> and there probably a stone-cutter's blunder. For the shape taken by the symbol, cf. the alphabetic table on p. 73, especially instances among the graffiti.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As Cypriote inscriptions are very seldom regular, while many of the characters have 'tails,' the measurements given are the limits of variation of size. Wherever there is no indication to the contrary each inscription is to be understood as complete, and the limits of the stone are accordingly not drawn on the cut. [I may add here that of two sets of facsimile copies I had made, one has been unfortunately mislaid, the other not returned from the printer. I have therefore not been able to correct to my

satisfaction the proofs of the cuts: so far as I can judge from the copies in my note-book they have however been carefully prepared.—*Salamis*, March, 1890.]

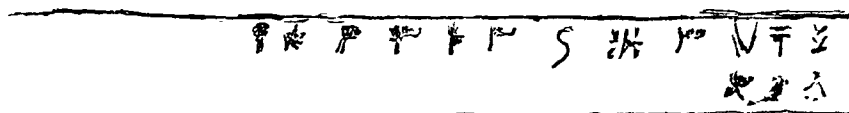
<sup>2</sup> In Collitz, *Sammlung d. griech. Dial.-Insch.* Heft 1. This, as the standard tract on Cypriote, is referred to here and subsequently simply as 'Deecke.'

<sup>3</sup> In *Transactions Soc. Bibl. Arch.* v. pl. A 3.

<sup>4</sup> The right-hand sections of the double columns contain the forms given by the graffiti.

Tomb *F* consists of three chambers [*Fa*, *Fb*, *Fc*], and it is possible that *Fa* is of rather later date than the other two: none of them however can well be assigned to an earlier period than the first century of the existence of Arsinoe. The stone was found lying in the middle of the floor, face downwards, having fallen in apparently from a tomb above, and had dispersed the bones of a skeleton in its fall. The number of burials in *Fa* was remarkable: at least three distinct layers of bodies could be traced.

2.—Limestone block, door panel: 2 ft.  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$  1 ft.  $1\frac{1}{2}$   $\times$  2 in. Tomb *K*. Letters  $\frac{3}{8}$  in., very shallow, poorly cut, and badly preserved. They have been picked out with bright red colour. Inscription enclosed by parallel lines. Surface much damaged: stone otherwise complete. At present in British Museum.



ο · να · σα · σε · ε · πε · σε · τα · σε · το · ι · ? .  
 νε ? · ο ? · ε · ? ·

The characters in the first line, with the exception of the first six, are indistinct, and the reading given is not quite certain, although it is the result of repeated study both of the stone and of squeezes. The last sign of the first row may have been a 'pe,' judging from the manner in which the surface of the stone has gone, but no mark of the chisel is left. II. 2 seems to have been  $\Sigma$ , of which sign there is just a trace. I read therefore

Ὀνάσας ἐπέστασε τῷ [Φερέφ].

The second name is without authority:—for Ὀνάσας cf. Deecke 30, where a father and son are called respectively Ὀνάσας and Ὀνασος, an instance of the poverty of Cypriote nomenclature. If there was no sign I. 12 at all, I should read in place of the second name  $\nu\phi$  ( $\nu\acute{\iota}\phi$ ). The second line had no more than two signs: the marks at what would otherwise be II. 3 do not, I believe, indicate a letter.

For the form here taken by the sepulchral inscription—a form as yet, in Cyprus, confined to Poli—cf. Deecke, *Phil. Woch.*, 1886, p. 1290, No. II. Another inscription found at Poli in the earlier excavations [1886] gives the Attic form ἐπέστησε: the inscription is in Greek and was probably set up by a foreigner.<sup>1</sup> This dedicatory formula is comparatively late, and agrees with the character of tomb *K*, which is certainly not older than Ptolemaic times.<sup>2</sup>

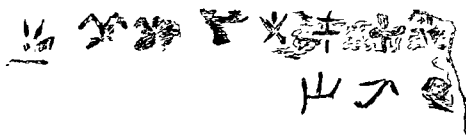
<sup>1</sup> The name of the dedicator 'Tychon' suggests a foreign origin: it is not Cypriote. The tomb [*Nekr.* i. 67] is apparently of the 4th century.

<sup>2</sup> The main evidence for a date is supplied by a bearded terra-cotta head of poor style: the

tomb too belongs to an Arsinoite necropolis. In general where an approximate date is, in this section, assigned to a tomb, the evidence is that of the contents taken in conjunction with the position and circumstances of the grave.

and may very well belong to the second century B.C. A similar formula is however to be read on another stone found this year [*inf.* No. 13], which may with certainty be assigned to the fifth century.

3.—Limestone block : from door of tomb : 3 ft. 6 in.  $\times$  1 ft. 11  $\times$  6 in. [approx.]. Letters 1–1 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. Stone much defaced, but complete. Now in Nicosia.



1. *pi* ?  $\cdot$  *lo*  $\cdot$  *pa*  $\cdot$  *i*  $\cdot$  *se* ?  $\cdot$  *e*  $\cdot$  *mi* ?
2. ?  $\cdot$  *vo*  $\cdot$  *se*  $\cdot$

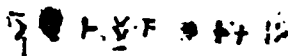
*I.* 8 is probably  $\cdot te$   $\cdot$  but may be  $o$  : *II.* 1 is doubtful ; after *II.* 3 there is a mark, apparently tooled, in the stone, but there does not seem to have been a character.

Φιλοπαῖς ἡμὶ [Θησεῖ] φως.

The father's name is very doubtful. Θησεὺς as a name in common use is known,<sup>1</sup> but the reading is not satisfactory. Philopais as an ὄνομα κυριον has sufficient analogy. For the less usual nominative in the formula, cf. *inter alia Phil. Woch.* 1886, pp. 1290 foll., No. iii., or Deecke, 93. The omission of the article before the father's name is unusual.<sup>2</sup>

This stone was so rough that the inscription was not at first discovered ; the tomb from which it came cannot accordingly be determined with certainty but was in all probability *K.* 5. The date of *K.* 5 is difficult to fix.

4.—Block of soft biscuit limestone : 2 ft. 6 in.  $\times$  9 in.  $\times$  7 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. Letters  $\frac{3}{8}$ – $\frac{3}{4}$  in. : poorly cut and in bad condition. Tomb *K.* 37. At present in British Museum.



*e*  $\cdot$  *lo*  $\cdot$  *ta*  $\cdot$  ?  $\cdot$  *to*  $\cdot$  *o*  $\cdot$  *ta*  $\cdot$  ?  $\cdot$  *vo* ?

The fourth character may be *ne* or *va* : it might also be *ti* or *u* : The first has perhaps more resemblance to *zo* than *e* ; the eighth space retains no mark of a tool, and there may have been none originally. There is a pit in

<sup>1</sup> It is found e.g. *Et Mag.* 145, 53 as the name of a Korinthian historian, and occurs also in several other places, v. Pape-Benseler, *s.v.*

<sup>2</sup> The shading in the cuts of the inscriptions will, I trust, explain its own meaning. It is

intended to indicate on the one hand the condition of the stone ; on the other, the faintness or strength of tooling in the characters as they at present exist.

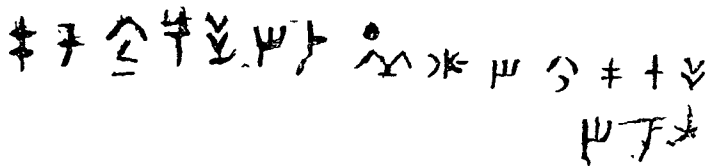
the stone at the point large enough to destroy all trace of a symbol had any existed. If there is no character between *ta'* and *vo'*, the latter, which might also be read *sv'*, will give the local adjective.<sup>1</sup>

‘Ε(λ)λωταῦ τῶ Ὀδα . . fo.

‘Ελλωτας is only known as an attributive<sup>2</sup> (cf. title of Athena at Corinth). I should compare the *e lo* scratched on a vase found in 1886 (v. Hermann, *Graberfeld v. Marion*, p. 31—32: Sayce proposes to read the graffito ‘Ελλω, not regarding it as an abbreviated form). The second name is probably non-Greek in origin and may be compared with the Ὀδέας of Jos. X. viii. 6. J. A. R. Munro suggests Ἐλλοδάμω which reads more satisfactorily, were the fourth symbol only more certain; as the stone stands it can scarcely be ∇.

K. 37 is a Cypriote tomb, probably of the third century B.C.

5.—Limestone upright: 4 ft. 7 in. × 1 ft. 6 in. × 1 ft.  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. Letters  $\frac{3}{4}$ —1  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. Good condition, though the stone has suffered just at the beginning of the inscription. Tomb K. 45. Now in Nicosia.



*pi · lo · pa · vo · se · e · mi · ta · se · o · na · si · lo · pa ·*  
*i · to · se ·*

Φιλοφάως ἡμὶ τὰς Ὀνασίλω παιδὸς.

The interpunctuation at ἡμὶ is placed half an inch above the character *mi*. The form of the sign *vo* with its rounded head, and tail curving to left, is that usually found in the northern and western parts of Cyprus.

For Ὀνάσιλος cf. the doctor in Deecke 60: the name is also to be read scratched on a vase from Poli (*Journal of Excavations*, i. 23, 1886), and perhaps the first half of it on two other vases obtained this year (tombs 10, 11), and one, found in 1886, now in the United Services Club at Limassol. The daughter's name is hitherto unknown, but is formed in the ordinary Greek manner: it may be compared also with that in no. 3 sup. K. 45 is a tomb which has been twice used and at different periods. The later burial which

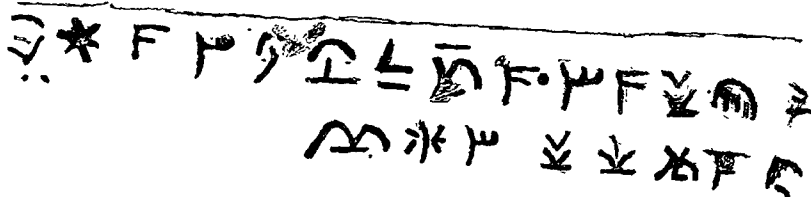
<sup>1</sup> If *vo* cf. perhaps *Ἐντίες* of Steph. Byz. p. 319 ed. West; a district near Soli. If *sv* is preferred—the change depends upon the significance assigned to a stroke at the tail of the letter (see facsimile) — possibly Σ[δωνίου], though it is doubtful whether other than insular

appellatives can be represented in Cypriote by a single character.

<sup>2</sup> Attributives [*Beinamen*] of deities were used as proper names in Greece, but only, I believe, in compounded form.

our inscription probably records, may belong to the second half of the fourth century B.C.

6.—Limestone block, broken below: 2 ft.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$  1 ft.  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$   $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. Letters  $\frac{3}{4}$  — 1 in., above them a line. Points of interpunctuation. Inscription has been inlaid with bronze, portions of which remain. At present in British Museum. *K.* 58.



*ke · re · o · to · se · to · ki · li · ka · vo · se · to · a · ri ·*  
*si · to · me · te · o · se · e · mi ·*

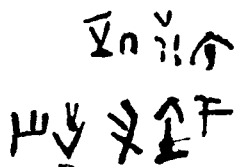
Κρεό(ν)τος τῷ Γιλ(λ)ικάφος τῷ Ἀριστομήδεος ἡμί.

This inscription is important for its alphabetic forms. The characters *re · ka · ri · si ·* and *me ·* are in shape closely akin to those found in inscriptions from Dali, Golgoi, Soli. It is not to be supposed that a reconstruction of local alphabets is possible from the inscriptions found in the several districts; nor must it be too readily assumed that distinct local alphabets of a recognized type existed, a view to which Deecke's syllabic table gives perhaps too much prominence. There are several variations which may be called local: a still greater number may rather be considered due to individual idiosyncrasy. The forms in this inscription denoting *ri · si ·* and *me ·* deserve to be especially noted.

Γιλλικάς, a Phoenician name, would seem to have been fairly plentiful in Cyprus (cf. Deecke, nos. 29, 120; *Phil. Woch.* 1886, pp. 1290, foll., II.; a graffito from tomb *K.* 29 has *ki · li ·* which may be read with some probability Γιλ(λ)λι[κάφος], possibly also the *ki ·* of another graffito may be the first syllable of the same name). It is probable that, so far as present evidence goes, among less than fifty names of inhabitants of that Marion which Scylax calls Ἑλληνίς, at least three distinct persons called Gillikas are to be recognized.

In *K.* 58 two inscriptions, this and the following one, were found. They have no discoverable relation to one another, so that the tomb must be assumed to have been used twice and by different families. This practice was frequent at Marion and Arsinoe. Other instances, among inscriptions, are afforded by nos. 8—9 *inf.*, and by nos. II. *b* and III. *Phil. Woch.* 1886, p. 1290. So far as the contents of *K.* 58 are concerned, the tomb is probably of the latter half of the fourth century.

7.—Rough limestone: 1 ft. 9 in.  $\times$   $7\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$  4 in. Letters poorly formed,  $\frac{7}{8}$  —  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in.: they have been inlaid with silver. Tomb *K.* 58. Now in Nicosia.



ti · ma · ko · ra ·  
to · ka · ke · o · se ·

The character *ko* is unusual in shape and of very small dimensions. II. 2 may perhaps be read *si* if there was a second cross-bar to the tail of the sign. For similar forms of *si* see Deecke's table under 'Golgoi' and 'Coins': a related variety is found also at Old and New Papho.

Τιμαγορά  
τῷ ?

Cypriote inscriptions give all three forms of the genitive in *-as* nouns: *-aFos*, *-av*, and *-a*. The second proper name in this inscription is not clear. The only Greek form resembling it that I have come across is the comic *Καρχᾶς* (from *καρχάζω*). Two alternatives remain, to look for a local appellation in the last four symbols, or to treat the name (*Κακεος*, *Γαγεως*) as non-Greek. In the latter case I should compare *Γάγα*, *Γάγαι* and *Γάγος*, different forms<sup>1</sup> of the name of a Lycian town, which may contain a Semitic root. If the former alternative be preferred a connection may be supposed—reading *si* for *ka*—with *Σίγγος*, *Σίγγα*, *Σιγγυά*, or better with *Σιγείον* in the Troad, one form of whose local adjective is *Σιγεύς*.<sup>2</sup>

Now *Σιγείον* was destroyed soon after the fall of the Persian Empire by the Ilions, to whom in Strabo's time the whole district belonged.<sup>3</sup> If line two of the present inscription is read τῷ *Σιγέως*, Timagoras would then appear as a refugee from the destroyed *Σιγείον*, and the date could be fixed to within a few years.

8.—A socket stone of limestone, 11 in. × 9 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  (the socket measures 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.). Letters 1 $\frac{3}{8}$  — 2 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. roughly formed: inscription on one end of stone. From which tomb the stone came is not quite certain, the inscription having been only subsequently detected. Now in Nicosia.



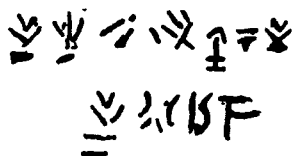
a · ri · si · ta · se  
'Αρίστας.

<sup>1</sup> See Scyl. *Perip.* 190. Dioscor. 5. 146. generally corrected into *Σιγείος*  
Hierod. p. 683, *Γαγαία πόλις*. <sup>3</sup> Strabo, xiii. pp 595 and 600.

<sup>2</sup> Dion. *Hal.* i. 72. 2:—The form has been

The name was a common one among Greek women. The Ariste here recorded may have been the wife of the Timokretes in no. 9 *inf.*, though the fact that the two stones were found in the same tomb does not prove, at Poli, that the persons they commemorate were closely connected. For 'Αρίστη cf. *Phil. Woch.* 1886, p. 1290, no. 1. Deecke there suggests 'Αρίσται, but his note (on his inscription, no. VI.) is confused. Probably the two, I. and VI., should be closely connected; in I. read 'Αριστοκύπρω παιδὶ (ἔστασε), and make the 'Αριστοκύπρω of No. VI. wife of Aristos and mother of Aristokypros. This avoids the unwarranted change of 'Αριστος into Αρίστα. Assuming a connection between the two inscriptions it may be noted that the tombs from which they were obtained are in different necropoleis (I. 106, and II. 99): a counterpart of the practice which associates members of different families in the same tomb.

9.—Limestone block, 3 ft. 6 in. × 11 in. × 11 in. (approximate). Letters  $\frac{5}{8}$ — $1\frac{1}{8}$  in.: graving large but coarse. Tomb identical with that from which no. 8 was obtained. At present in British Museum.



O · na · si · ke · ? · te · o  
to · zo · va · so ·

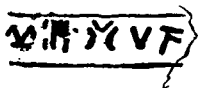
'Ονασικρέτεο(ς)  
τῷ Ζοφασῶ

I. 5 must be *re* and with this the marks left on the stone suit. II. 2 is *zo* though the stroke is less curved than usual.

For -κρέτης as the Cypriote equivalent of -κράτης cf. Deecke 71 and 148: *Phil. Woch.* 1886, pp. 1290 foll., Nos. II. and VII. p. 1643, No. XXI.; for 'Ονασικρέτης as a Cypriote name cf. a late Greek inscription from Larnaca (Col. Ceccaldi in *Rev. Arch.* xxvii. pp. 69 foll., no. 13, where the Ionic form of the name is given).

For the father's name cf. *zo va* on a small black tray from K.44, and a similar graffito on a saucer of brown-glazed ware found in 1886 (*Journal of Excavations*, 1886, II. 60). Professor Sayce found the name Ζοφῆς in three instances at Abydos (*Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1884, pp. 209 and following, nos. 9 and 10). A Greek form Ζωσᾶς is also known (*C.I.G.* 950 and 3665).

10. Limestone slab, 1 ft.  $0\frac{1}{2}$  in. × 1 ft. 3 in. ×  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in.: broken to right and below. Letters  $1-1\frac{1}{2}$  in., cleanly and deeply cut between parallels, and square in form so as to give the appearance of having been stamped in a soft material, which had then been hardened. At present in British Museum.



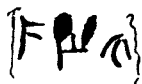
to · sa · ma · e · mi ·

(τοῦ δεινός) τὸ σᾶμα ἡμῖ

The full formula for a sepulchral inscription is not usual in Cyprus: I do not know another instance. Ordinarily the elliptical genitive is used alone.

This stone was found together with the Greek inscription (*inf.* no. 19) in a hole numbered A.10, which, though it contained some fragments of ordinary tomb furniture, seemed to have been in the main a shapeless lumber-hole. Beside the inscriptions there were unearthed among a great number of building-stones some architectural members—a moulded slab, an altar (?) &c. —of Roman style. Had A.10 been certainly a tomb there would have been some evidence for carrying the use of the Cypriote syllabary down even to the first century A.D.<sup>1</sup> (*v. inf.* on the Greek inscription). It is quite possible that A.10 was first a tomb, secondly a re-used tomb, and lastly a refuse-hole<sup>2</sup> for odds and ends of stone which for one reason or another it was requisite to clear off the surface of the ground. The earliest burial cannot have been, I think, earlier than the third century B.C.

11.—Fragment of fine-grained limestone, broken on all sides except at the top: approximately 3 in. square so far as the original surface remains. Letters  $\frac{3}{4}$ —1 in. Tomb B.4. At present in British Museum.



. . . . ro · se · to ·

Τιμοκλέ]φος τῶ (δεινός)

The tomb from which this fragment was obtained belongs, I think, to the first half of the fourth century.

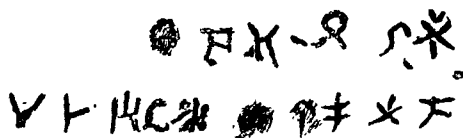
12.—Rough sandstone upright: 4 ft. 6 in. × 1 ft. 3 in. × 7 in. Letters  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. — 2 in.: roughly and unevenly cut, but pointed with red. Surface badly worn. Tomb B. 12. Now in Nicosia.

<sup>1</sup> If this could be established it would be an important result. Deecke's latest inscriptions are, he thinks, of the age of Alexander: Sayce [*Proc. Bib. Arch.* 1884, pp. 209 foll.] comes to a similar conclusion from an examination of the graffiti at Abydos, compared with their scarcity

at Thebes. Cf. *inf.* 'Inscriptions on vases,' no. 1, *note*.

<sup>2</sup> The tomb, if it existed, was quite shallow, some 4 or 5 feet deep at the most. It probably fell in, and the hole thus made was found useful as a receptacle for waste-stones.





1. *ku · po · ro · me ? · to · ? ·*
2. *to · i · pa · ti · ri · e · ? · se · ta · sa*

I. 4 is carelessly formed, but was probably intended for *me*·. I. 6 in its present state is merely a hole in the stone: but there was probably a sign originally, and that sign *ti*·. At II. 7 the stone has been both cut and coloured, but I feel by no means sure that there is anything more than a stone-cutter's blunder. The marks of the chisel are here peculiarly shallow, and the character, besides being of an unknown form, is strangely cramped in. A not very dissimilarly shaped symbol was found by Prof. Sayce at Abydos.<sup>1</sup> In the Poli inscription—if the marks are intentional—there can be, at most, two alternatives, *pe*· and *ne*·. The resemblance of the marks is greatest to *pe*·, the continuation of the tail to the right being probably accidental. If however it be assumed that the central stroke was originally carried down below the cross-lines, we must read *ne*·;<sup>2</sup> and in that case Deecke's No. 7 should be corrected. He there writes *κά μεν ἔστασαν*, introducing a form of the enclitic unknown in Cypriote: it would be neater, as J. A. R. Munro first suggested to me, to write *κά μ' ἐνέστασαν*, though I think the use of *ἐνίστημι* is somewhat wanting in force. On the whole it seems preferable to render the Poli inscription as

*Κυπρομέδοντι*  
*τῷ πατρὶ ἔ[πε?]στασα.*

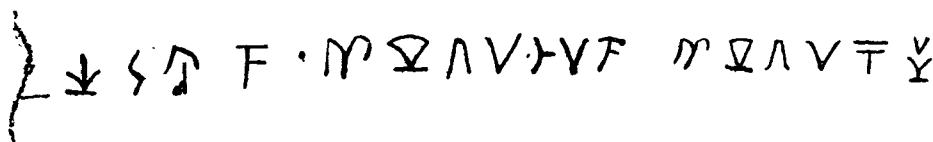
The name Kypromedon is new; but compounds with *κυπρο-* are common. The formula here resembles that of No. 2, though the use of the first person is strange, and, so far as I know, unexampled in Cyprus. Tomb *B*. 12 may with certainty be assigned to the middle of the fifth century.

13.—Bar of fine limestone, surfaces dressed with a toothed-chisel: broken away at right-hand end and cracked through middle. Has served as one side of a built sarcophagus [*μνημα*], and is a companion stone to No. 14 *inf*. Dimensions, in present condition, 3 ft. 3½ in. × 1 ft. 8 in. × 7 in. Letters 1½ in., neatly cut in an easy, flowing style. Obtained from tomb *M*. 2 by the villagers after the excavations of 1886–7. Now in the stairway of a house in Poli.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Sayce very kindly communicated to me a copy of the graffito in which the character occurs. The graffito itself is published by him in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1884, pp. 209 foll., no. 7. He read the sign *ka*·, which is certainly wrong; Deecke suggested *le*· which is possible, but not

very probable, as it requires the name recorded to be read *Meleermos*.

<sup>2</sup> In Prof. Sayce's graffito the character in question has certainly no tail. If it is to be considered a *ne*· the name will be *Mcnermos*.

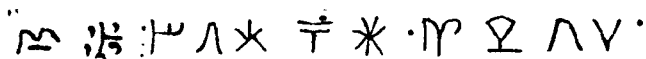
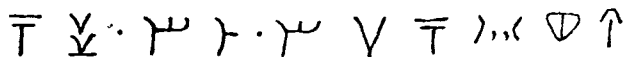


*o · na · sa · ko · ra · u · to · sa · ta · sa · ko · ra · u · to · ti · pe · te · ru · ?*

Ὀνασαγόραν τῷ Στασαγόραν τῷ Διφθέρα[υ · ἡμί]. The 15th symbol may perhaps have been intended for *fo* ∴ there is a sort of dot against the tail of the letter which is otherwise straight. Διφθέρας is hardly satisfactory as a name:<sup>1</sup> but I hesitate to read τῶδι Πτερᾶ [for Πτερᾶς see Pape-Benseler s. v.]. If the 15th sign were a *fo* · it would be just possible to interpret *to · vo* · as τῶυ [cf. Deecke 68. 3, where *o · vo · ka · re · ti* · is read οὐ γάρ τι]: but to introduce two forms of the genitive of the article in one line is hardly permissible, and the form τῶυ is not known in Cypriote inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

The angular form of *pe* · is not usual, but is found at New Paphos. For the character of the script in general see under next inscription, where also the question of a date is considered.

14.—Fellow-stone to preceding, but complete. Has formed the side of a μνήμα. Dimensions 5 ft. 6½ in. × 1 ft. 8 in. × 6½ in. Letters 1½ in., neatly engraved in one line, not as in the cut divided: interpunctuations. Tomb M. 1. At present in British Museum.



*ti · mo · ra · na · sa · se · ta · se · o · na · sa · ko · ra · u · ku · na · i ·  
ko · se · e · mi ·*

Τιμοφανύ[σ]ας τῆς Ὀνασαγόραν γυναικὸς ἡμί.

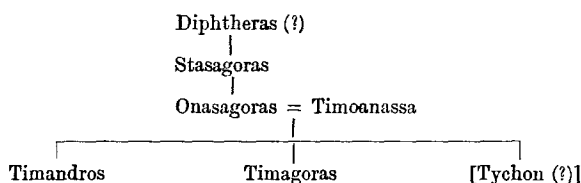
The script in 13 and 14 is peculiar. Cypriote epigraphic style is rather to be regarded as individual than local: and these two inscriptions preserve the handwriting of a man who had formed for himself a very distinct manner. The letters are generally, where possible, curved—notice especially *se · ra* · and *u* ·, and in a less degree *sa · ka* · and *ti* ·: and though the style itself is contained and simple, these two inscriptions afford the best example of what might be done with the Cypriote characters in the way of an ornate epigraphy. It is important to bear in view the style of engraving here illustrated, as it throws much light on the question how far the study of Cypriote epigraphy can be reduced to a science.

<sup>1</sup> It may perhaps be supported by names like Μαλλίας, Ουλλίας.

<sup>2</sup> Its introduction would have to be regarded

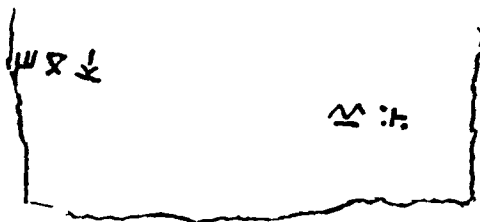
as due to Greek influence. The family of Onasagoras may have been immigrant into Marion.

The Timoanassa and Onasagoras of this and the preceding inscription are wife and husband. They were buried side by side, each in a *μνήμα*, and the same tomb contained a number of other *μνήματα* of a similar kind. It is possible that the family of Onasagoras may be capable of reconstruction with the help of two inscriptions obtained in 1886 (*Phil. Woch. l.c.* Nos. II.b and V.). The family tree may then be drawn out thus:



The Greek inscription (*Phil. Woch. l.c.* II.b) was found in a tomb which seems from the character of its contents to be of the fourth century: Pteras (or Diphtheras) will then have lived about 450 B.C. This will require for the tomb of Onasagoras and Timoanassa a date not later than 350 B.C. The objects actually found in it are hardly sufficient either by their number or their character to confirm or refute this attribution.<sup>1</sup> If the genealogy is sound, it affords an excellent example of Cypriote nomenclature, and contains the elements of those names which were most in favour in the island. Timoanassa is new: Onasagoras occurs on a vase found in 1886 (*Phil. Woch.* 1886, pp. 1611 foll., No. XVIII.), and on the bronze in Deecke's *Sammlung*, No. 60.

15.—Limestone block: incomplete: cut away to right. It lies upside down in the wall of the house where No. 13 is also to be seen. Letters 1 in.



1. . . . . *te · ro · se ·*

2. *e · mi ·*

[Ἀριστοκύπρας τᾶς  
Φιλοκύπρω θυγα]τέρος  
ἡμῖ

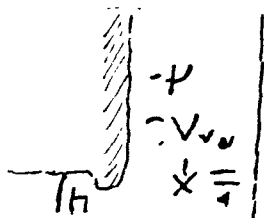
But it is not certain that the surface of the stone has been re-dressed: and, if not, *te · ro · se* must *begin* the inscription.

16.—Large rounded block of *chióni* in a street in Poli. Surface almost

<sup>1</sup> The tombs in the immediate neighbourhood of *M.* 1 are mostly of a late period, very often

Roman: two, however, which were entered from *M.* 3 [see plan] were probably of the 4th century.

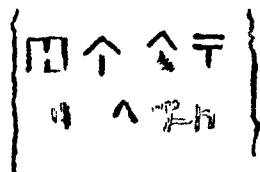
entirely gone. Two socket-holes have been cut in the block at a later date for some purpose. Letters large: but scarcely any remain.



1		?	·	sc ·
2	socket	?	·	sa · ? ·
	tu ?	?	·	i · na ·

The transliteration here given is to be read from right to left, as it reproduces the actual condition of the stone.

17.—Sandstone block lying on its side in a house-wall in Poli: broken away at either end. Letters  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in., in bad condition.



? · na · si · ti · mo · ?  
? · ? · ? · ko · ? ·

[O]νασιτίμω [τω]  
[Ονασα]γό[ραν]

The faint marks in the second line give practically no indication of distinct characters. Only the  $\wedge$  is clearly tooled. If I am right in restoring 'Ονασαγόραν, 'Ονασιτίμος might be regarded as another son in the family recorded under No. 14. The name Onasitimos would be especially appropriate to a son of Onasagoras and Timoeanassa and a brother of Timagoras and Timandros. Deecke (No. 26) has an Onasitimos from Drimu, a village not far distant from Poli.

Further details of the preceding inscriptions are best given in the fac-similes accompanying them. The syllabary as found at Poli appears on a table p. 73.<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions on vases are dealt with later. Here it need only be added that, as appears from the preceding pages, the Cypriote character was during the fourth century in practically universal use for monu-

<sup>1</sup> It would have been interesting to complete the table of forms in vogue by embodying those given by the inscriptions found in 1886. In the alphabet obtained from the graffiti—illustrated

in the right-hand sections of the two columns—I was able to make use of a part of the 1886 Journal, thanks to the courtesy of the authorities at Berlin.

mental records: we did not find a single Greek sepulchral inscription in any but the latest period, and the former excavations produced only one, which may perhaps be of the fourth century, but, as it retains an Ionic form, may have been set up by a foreigner. It follows further from the results obtained this season that the Cypriote syllabary remained in use during the earlier part of the Ptolemaic period. It is scarcely, indeed, to be supposed that the destruction of Marion by Ptolemy Lagides caused the immediate substitution of Greek characters for the native Cypriote. Though Greek would be used in official documents, yet the tenure of the Ptolemies over Cyprus was at first too incomplete and too often interrupted to bring about the universal adoption of the Greek alphabet in the affairs of daily life. Religious feeling would cause the Cypriote syllabary to retain its place on sepulchral monuments even longer than might otherwise have happened. The finds of this year also emphasize the fact that the Cypriote syllabary must not too hastily be parcelled out into local alphabets. The political condition of Cyprus rendered a monumental style of epigraphy impossible: but the forms of the characters themselves share the responsibility. As Cypriote inscriptions are examined one after another the conviction is inevitable that the epigraphy of Cyprus is more like manuscript than monumental style, rising in its highest form to the level of art, and sinking on the other hand to the vulgarest scribble. It becomes an almost impossible task to date a letter from its shape.

The great majority of the inscriptions found seem to belong to the fourth century—a circumstance which deserves some attention. Taken as a whole, the necropoleis of Poli point to the conclusion that the fourth century was a most flourishing period in the existence of Marion. It seems sometimes to be assumed that the blockade of Marion by Kimon had resulted in the destruction of the town; and Dr. Oberhummer for example speaks of Arsinoe as 'built on the site of Marion, destroyed by Kimon.'<sup>1</sup> But it was in the fourth century that the town achieved independence under its king Stasioikos, previous to whom there is no separate coinage known.<sup>2</sup> The evidence from the coinage, though incomplete, agrees with that of the tombs.

One other point perhaps may be noted here, though it is not connected directly with epigraphy. The stones which bear the inscriptions have been, probably without exception, architectural members. Sometimes they have served to form one side of a *μνημα*,<sup>3</sup> or built sarcophagus; sometimes they are the panels or uprights of a door; sometimes the sockets in which those uprights rested. The actual tomb is sealed with the name of the dead. The grave is the possession for ever of the departed.

<sup>1</sup> *Sitz.-ber. d. Kgl. bay. Akad. d. Wiss. Hist.-phil. Classe.* 5 Mai, 1883, p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> Six does indeed assign an earlier series of coins to Marion, but on very insufficient grounds. See the section on Marion in Head, *Hist. Num.* I came across a small silver coin of Stasioikos, at Xeróbouno, near Limniti: an interesting find

as tending to support the view that Marion did stand on the northern and not the southern coast. Kimon's simultaneous attack on Kition and Marion, though seeming to be adverse to the hypothesis, really goes to confirm it.

<sup>3</sup> This is the name used by the men, and it is convenient to retain it as a specialised term.

* *	a	* *			
✱ ✱	e	✱ ✱			
✱	z	✱			
✱ ✱	o	{ ✱ ✱ ? ✱ ✱ }			
✱	u	{ ✱ ✱ ✱ ✱ ? }			
✱ ✱	ka	✱			
✱ ✱	ke	✱ [✱]			
✱ ✱	ko	[✱ ✱ ?] ✱ ?			
✱	ki	✱			
✱ ✱	ku	[✱ ✱]			
✱ ✱ ✱	la	✱			
✱ ✱ ✱	le	[✱] ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱ ✱	lo	[✱] [✱ ?]			
✱ ✱	li	✱ [✱] ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	lu	✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	lv				
✱ ✱	lw	[✱] [✱ ?]			
✱ ✱	lx	[✱ ?]			
✱ ✱	ly	✱			
✱ ✱	lz	✱			
✱ ✱	ma	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	me	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	mi	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	mo	[✱] [✱]			
✱ ✱	mu	✱ ✱ ?			
✱ ✱	mv	[✱] ✱			
✱ ✱	mw	✱ [✱ ✱] ✱ ?			
✱ ✱	mx	✱			
✱ ✱	my	[✱] ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	mz	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	na	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ne	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ni	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	no	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	nu	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	nv	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	nw	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	nx	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ny	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	nz	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	oa	✱ ✱ ✱			
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✱ ✱	oi	✱ ✱ ✱			
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✱ ✱	ok	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ol	✱ ✱ ✱			
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✱ ✱	on	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	oo	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	op	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	oq	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	or	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	os	✱ ✱ ✱			
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✱ ✱	oz	✱ ✱ ✱			
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✱ ✱	pe	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	pi	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	po	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	pu	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	pv	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	pw	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	px	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	py	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	pz	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	qa	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	qe	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	qi	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	qo	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	qu	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	qv	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	qw	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	qx	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	qy	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	qz	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ra	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	re	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ri	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ro	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ru	✱ ✱ ✱			
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✱ ✱	rw	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	rx	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ry	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	rz	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	sa	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	se	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	si	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	so	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	su	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	sv	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	sw	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	sx	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	sy	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	sz	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ta	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	te	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ti	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	to	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	tu	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	tv	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	tw	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	tx	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ty	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	tz	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ua	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ue	✱ ✱ ✱			
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✱ ✱	uo	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	uu	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	uv	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	uw	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ux	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	uy	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	uz	✱ ✱ ✱			
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✱ ✱	vi	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	vo	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	vu	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	vv	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	vw	✱ ✱ ✱			
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✱ ✱	vy	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	vz	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	wa	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	we	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	wi	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	wo	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	wu	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	wv	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ww	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	wx	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	wy	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	wz	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	xa	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	xe	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	xi	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	xo	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	xu	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	xv	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	xw	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	xx	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	xy	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	xz	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ya	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ye	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	yi	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	yo	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	yu	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	yv	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	yw	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	yx	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	yy	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	yz	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	za	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	ze	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	zi	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	zo	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	zu	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	zv	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	zw	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	zx	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	zy	✱ ✱ ✱			
✱ ✱	zz	✱ ✱ ✱			

To the Cypriote inscriptions I subjoin those in Greek character which were found during this season at Poli.

18.—A fragment of bacon-streaked stone picked up by Messrs. Gardner and Munro in a preliminary tour of the ancient site. Length  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in., width  $2\frac{1}{2}$ — $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. At present in British Museum.



ΙΩ Η ΣΥΛΛΗΛ  
ΤΑΣ Π ΘΕΡΣΕ

The alphabet is Doric, resembling Rhodian, of about Ol. 50,<sup>1</sup> but the form *Φερσέφαρτα* is Attic (*v. Plato, Crat.* 404, with Heindorf's note *ad. l.* and Spanheim *ad Arist. Ran.* 683). There was a *Φερσεφαττειον* at Athens, yet the name *Φερσέφασσα* has somehow a foreign ring about it, and to find it domiciled at Marion early in the sixth century is interesting. The cult of Persephone has at least two distinct forms; either the myth depicts the goddess of nature, or it exhibits the consort of Hades—a fierce semi-savage power of the underworld. But it is a different and popular aspect of the goddess with which the name Phersephassa is associated.

The fragment, with its four letters of an inscription, was found in a field which is strewn with scattered pieces of *chióni* and limestone. Several fragments of stone very similar to that bearing the inscription were turned over, but a protracted search failed to discover any other piece engraved with the remainder of the sentence. Some two or three hundred yards away from the find-spot is the supposed temple-site, which is not necessarily to be connected with Strabo's *Διὸς ἄλσος*.

19.—Limestone block,  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$  in. Found broken into three pieces, which however fit exactly, so that the stone is complete except for some trifling chips which have been lost. The surface is much worn, and is rounded as though the stone had been exposed to the action of water; the aqueduct stream runs within a few feet of the hole A.10 in which the inscription was lying. Now in Nicosia.

Τρύφων χρηστέ χαίρε.

The formula is of very common occurrence in later stelae. The present inscription is of the first century, and may perhaps be more precisely assigned to about 50—60 A.D.

20.—In ignorance of Dr. Oberhammer's article in the Munich *Sitzungsberichte*<sup>2</sup> a careful copy was made, with a view to publication, of the Ptolemaic inscription so badly reproduced in Lebas and Waddington's *Voyage*

<sup>1</sup> Since I wrote thus I find that J. A. R. Munro has submitted a squeeze of this inscription to a conclave of Oxford archaeologists, and that their verdict is in favour of a Roman origin for the stone. In deference to their authority I wish to modify the opinion expressed in the

text so far as to make it less categoric: at the same time I cannot find that an alternative reading was proposed. The place in which the fragment was found tells neither way.

<sup>2</sup> *Sitzber. d. kgl. bay. Ak. d. Wiss.* 5 Mai, 1888, p. 320.

*Archéologique*, Tom. III., No. 2782. Having since been able to read Dr. Oberhummer's notice, I find little of value to add to his rendering. One or two letters which on the stone are not quite complete are given as perfect in his copy; but as they are certain in any case the trifling inaccuracy is of no moment. In line 3 the space after *-ρχουντος* is sufficient to make it doubtful whether any qualifying phrase *κατὰ Ἀρσινόην πόλιν* followed; the genitive of line 5 *[τῶν θεῶν φ]ιλαδελφῶν* probably depended on *ἱερέως* in agreement with *Στησαγορου*.<sup>1</sup> *[Τ]ιμωνακτ[ος]* in 6 is a second magistrate, and the real purport of the inscription probably begins with *δν χρ[ον]* in the last line now remaining.

21.—Fragment of marble, picked from under the door-sill of a house in Poli. The fragment seems to have once formed part of a stele—the cornice of which remains on the reverse—and then to have been redressed to receive the present inscription at a much later date.



† Ἀντεσ[τίου] εὐχ[ή].

I am indebted to Professor Hicks for the interpretation of the monogrammatic signs. The inscription is Christian, of uncertain date. For the formula cf. *C.I.G.* 8866, 69, 77, and numerous other instances in that section of the *Corpus*. That the engraver should have taken the trouble to abbreviate *εὐχή*—for the inscription stands complete as he left it—seems strange. Perhaps we should rather read—

Ἀντέστιος εὐχ[αριστῶν ἀνέθηκε.] [cf. *C.I.G.* 8873, 4, 5, &c.]

I add: 22.—Fragment of upper part of puteal (sandstone) which I picked up on the site of Soli. Now in British Museum.

CAI]Θ · CAESARI · D · [AVG · F ·]  
 \SOLIORVM[ ]

The inscription seems to belong to the period of Caius Caesar's mission to the East, 13—14 A.D.

#### INSCRIPTIONS ON VASES.

There remain the inscribed vases, which both in 1886 and 1889 have been found in such numbers at Poli. The inscriptions are in the form of graffiti scratched, with scarcely an exception, on the bottom of the vase; occasionally the letters are deeply and boldly cut. Graffiti of this sort are, in Poli, nearly confined<sup>2</sup> to a distinct class of pottery—the plain-glazed black

<sup>1</sup> For the title and office see the Rosetta Stone (*C. I. G.* ad init.)

<sup>2</sup> Beside the black-ware they are found not seldom on red-figured askoi.



ware, stamped and unstamped, which Athens produced during the fourth century especially. In addition to the graffiti there were found also fragments<sup>1</sup> of a large Cypriote diota, on one of which was a painted inscription—an uncommon feature in ware of this kind. To it the place of honour may be assigned.

1.—On a portion of a large diota; inscription on shoulder near junction of handle. Tomb A. 21.



ο · πα · κα · λο · σε.

The form here assumed by the characters ο ·<sup>2</sup> πα · and λο · is to be noted. *σε* also has the appearance of being reversed, and might suggest that the signs should be read from left to right. Reversed symbols however are sometimes used when the inscription runs from right to left, and the vase before us is probably an instance in point. The phrase here may be read 'ὁ πα (ἰς) καλός'—according to the pederastic formula which has tried the patience of every student of Greek vases. There is however no indication of a break between πα · and κα ·; and the omission of μ χ may cause some surprise in so carefully formed an inscription. If ὁ παῖς καλός be the right interpretation, the appearance of that formula on a Cypriote jar of the purely geometric style (concentric rings) made in the fourth century B.C. (probably at Paphos) is a fact both interesting and important for the study of ancient vases. It is however possible to render the same characters in a different manner, and find in the inscription the signature of the potter, or perhaps of the owner for whom the jar was intended. We may read then: Ὀπα· καλός (ἐστὶν ὁ ἀμφορεύς).<sup>3</sup> This interpretation has in its favour the position and firm

<sup>1</sup> The vase has now been restored in the Brit. Mus., but some of the fragments do not quite certainly belong to the diota.

<sup>2</sup> The ο · is Paphian, and indeed the inscription as a whole might be so termed. The ×-shape of λο · is important: Deecke when he drew up his table was not prepared to admit this variety. πα · is one of the most constant types in the syllabary, but it does vary at Papho (*int. al.*). Its form on the vase is hitherto unexampled.

<sup>3</sup> Deecke, no. 82, has another but doubtful instance of Ὀπας used as a proper name in Cyprus. He would read the two symbols ο · πα ·, on a certain relief discovered by Cesnola, as the genitive of the name Ὀπας. The relief is a curious one: Gen. Cesnola speaks of it as a 'tablet representing a religious ceremony'; Dr. Hall says: 'upon the stone is carved a long procession of people. The idea of the sculpture it is hard to trace further.'—I presume this relief is identical with that figured roughly in

Col. Ceccaldi, *Mons. de Chypre*, p. 75, though Deecke gives no reference to Ceccaldi. M. A. Dumont, in a letter appended to Ceccaldi's quite vague remarks, thinks the plaque represents a sacrifice to Apollo, a dance in his honour, and the subsequent banquet of the θιασῶται, who had dedicated the stone. In that case what interpretation is to be put on the two Cypriote characters ο · πα ·? It is not altogether impossible that they may stand for Ὀπά(ονι), a title under which Apollo was worshipped in Cyprus. In last year's excavations a cult of Apollo Opaon was discovered by Mr. Hogarth at Amargetti [*v. J. H. S.* 1888: report on Amargetti]. Mr. Hogarth there expresses the opinion that Apollo Opaon was a purely local divinity, and that his second appellative Melanthius conceals the ancient name of Amargetti. If Apollo Opaon was only the deity of a small village it would probably be a mistake to look for his name on a votive tablet from Golgoi. There are however

character of the inscription, and does not require the assumption of lost signs. Opas, however, though vouched for by Suidas, is not a well-known name. Clearly also even a third alternative is conceivable: "Ὀπα[ς] καλός. I prefer therefore to leave the final reading undetermined, while regarding the second interpretation ("Ὀπα· καλός) as on the whole the most probable.

2.—Scratched in on the bottom of a small saucer, which has been glazed of a brown-red, and is stamped with the customary pattern. Tomb K. 62.



a · po · lo · ni · o ·  
na · i ·

and a numeral sign (?).

The graffito is to be read from left to right, a change from the ordinary Cypriote custom due to the growing influence of Greek writing. The form for *ni* varies somewhat from the canonic type, and *o* is again, as in the preceding inscription, written after the manner of Paphos.

Ἀπο[λ]ωνίω  
ναί (monogram).

two inscriptions to this god which were found near the Salt Lake at Larnaca. So at any rate Ceccaldi states [*Rev. Arch.* xxvii. pp. 86-88, Larnaca. nos 2 and 3]. They are obviously identical with the two inscriptions in Gen. Cesnola, *Cyprus* (Appendix nos. 3 and 4), where they are characteristically ascribed to Palae-paphos. Mr. Hogarth not having seen Ceccaldi's paper naturally assumed that the General had merely substituted Palae-paphos for Amargetti; but the evidence of Ceccaldi, who was frequently in Cyprus at the time when Cesnola was busy excavating, and often visited the diggings, speaks strongly for Larnaca as the find-spot. Gen. Cesnola's inability to command a wayward imagination would be restrained in the presence of an eye-witness.

If then Apollo Opaon was worshipped at Larnaca, he becomes at once a divinity of greater importance. Though he may have been merely a rustic power at Amargetti, at Kition he seems from the inscriptions to have been a true god of healing (*Opaon* therefore). If Golgoi may be added as a home of this cult, Opaon Melanthios will become one of the distinct Cypriote types of the god.

The relief is important also in another respect; it carries the use of the Cypriote syllabary down to the 1st century B.C. Dumont dates the work from the 2nd century; but if any reliance can be placed on the sketch in Ceccaldi, this date is considerably too high [and cf. *Gen. Cesnola, Cyprus*, p. 149].

What the remaining sign intends is difficult to determine. Read from right to left as a monogram it is *ov* (*o · ve ·*), which would be a curious addendum to the *naiveté* of the *val* with which Apollonius affirms his ownership. The symbol may however have been rather intended as a mark of number,<sup>1</sup> or even as a dealer's memorandum. That it should have been intended to represent a closed syllable, an alternative, which, if Deecke's discovery is sound, must always be kept in sight, is here scarcely possible, as the character contains no *leading* sign. The use of monogrammatic writing, as in the *val*, is interesting as it goes to confirm the hypothesis of symbols for closed syllables, and also to explain how such symbols arose. Another graffito found this season has similarly *Ona[silos]* written in monogram, and a third, discovered in 1886, may be read *Ὠπα[ς] Στα[σι]α*, both names being rendered by compounded signs. Herrmann, in his *Gräberfeld von Marion*, has given an instance of a monogram in Greek characters; but his interpretation [*Π = Πατρι-*] cannot be correct, as the monogram in question really moves up an ascending scale of *P*, *R*, *ΠP*. Other monograms of Greek letters are *N*, *Ξ*.

3.—On a fragment [bottom] of a large saucer-tray, black-glazed, with stamped pattern. Tomb *V. 2*.



*ti · ri · o · li · ja · ? · ? ·*

The third character is doubtful, but was probably intended for *o*; the fifth must be *ja* as *li* precedes; the sixth may have been *to*, the additional strokes being merely adventitious. What further sign there was beyond *to* can be matter of conjecture only. It may be possible therefore to read *Δριολία τοδί*, connecting the name with *δριός*.

4.—I may add here an inscription cut on a fine hydria which is adorned with a sort of scroll filled with sea-horses in white on brown. The vase was formerly in the possession of C. Christian, Esq., of Limassol. I have only a copy of the inscription, and not an impression:

<sup>1</sup> If as a number, I would refer to a whole series of signs, which seems to start from a simple form, such as *V*, and, by the addition of single strokes, to be thence raised in power. *¶* was in Deecke's table set down as a presumptive numeral sign, and it will be seen that the series illustrated at the bottom of the table practically passes through *¶*.

<sup>2</sup> For *Ὠπας*, *v. sup.* under *l* and *n*. . If this be the right reading of the monogram here it will support the reading in *1*; but the monogram may be intended only for the familiar *Ὠπα-*, an illegitimate stroke having been accidentally introduced.—The two graffiti referred to are from tombs *11*, and *11. 78* (1886) respectively.

ⲉ ⲑ ⲕ ⲱ ⲁ

*ti · mo · ke · le · si ·*

Τιμοκλῆς.

The inscription is interesting as affording an instance of *si*, instead of *sc*, if the character is rightly read, used as the final consonant; and also as being one of the rare cases where a Cypriote artist has signed his work.<sup>1</sup>

As a rule graffiti on vases do not preserve complete words or names. Those found this season proved no exception. Their value consequently is diminished, and the service they may render to archaeology is scarcely more than to furnish forth an alphabetic table,<sup>2</sup> such as is drawn up on p. 73. One little series however is of greater interest, though in the present state of Cypriote epigraphy its importance does not rank high. There are a few graffiti which are bilingual. On a red-figured askos from K45 the first syllable of the name Δι[ογένης] is written both in Cypriote and Greek: on a black-glazed saucer-tray from 17 is scratched *zo · me ·* in Cypriote and *Ζ*<sup>3</sup> in Greek. Of two similar saucer-trays from 7 one bears the legend Ⲛⲉ, the other *te*; while on still another we may read in Paphian character Ⲑ and in the corresponding Greek Οδ, or perhaps better 'Ολ[ύμπιος]. Similarly among the graffiti found in 1886 ⲕ is written over against the Cypriote *Ko*, or, in another case, against *Ku*.

The frequency with which graffiti are found at Poli on the unfigured black ware and the red-figured askoi, when contrasted with their comparative scarcity on similar pottery unearthed elsewhere, requires some explanation. As these scratches are in the great majority of cases written in Cypriote, it is clear that they are not, as Deecke supposed, potters' marks—for the ware is foreign and imported—unless indeed it is argued that because they are potters' marks the ware must be a native manufacture. In general the graffiti seems to give the name of the owner, either in full or abbreviated; but Herrmann is certainly wrong in supposing that it has always this meaning and this only. Such a series as that mentioned by Deecke (*Phil. Woch.*, 1886, p. 1643, foll.) probably preserves the name of the dealer, not the potter; and the number of vases inscribed *o* or *o na* seems almost excessive in spite of the frequency with which Cypriote names begin with these syllables. Thus also when *a* is graved in small character, and some other sign in larger, the former may represent the dealer, the latter the owner. Often again the legend ⲁ appears, and is probably to be interpreted *ti[μη]* 1 [obol]<sup>4</sup>; while a fragment from a black-glazed saucer-tray has in the Cypriote script *πιέ*, and

<sup>1</sup> The letters are carefully cut, and have been burnt in. The signature is on the shoulder of the vase. Cf. no. 1 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Graffiti as a rule would not be of much use for determining epigraphic forms; but in Cypriote there is not that decided severance between the monumental and cursive styles. *v. sup.* p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> The *Ⲛ* is closed at one end, but this is probably accidental. For an alternative view see later.

<sup>4</sup> For graffiti indicating prices on Greek vases *v. R. Schöne, Comm. in hon. Momms.*, who however does not introduce much fresh material.



Petrie's finds have shown that something like the Cypriote syllabary was known in Egypt as early, in his opinion, as 1250 B.C., if not at even a more remote date still. When then we have, as in popular scribblings on vases or stone, a means of enlarging our knowledge of the syllabary in its entirety, the help is hardly to be declined. And in fact among the graffiti obtained this year I have been able to match at least three unknown signs, or forms of signs, occurring among the fragments brought home by Mr. Petrie.<sup>1</sup>

It has been already remarked how in monumental inscriptions the native syllabary holds its own to the entire exclusion of Greek characters. The graffiti allow us to enter into the every-day life of the period; and among them accordingly a considerable percentage are Greek. In many cases the graffiti from one tomb will be some in the one some in the other script. It is rare to come across a case where *only* Greek letters are used. There must have been a contest in the fourth century between national sentiment and the aspirations after a higher, and Hellenic, culture. In the rise of Stasioikos it may be well to see the triumph of the national Cypriote faction. So far as the evidence from epigraphy goes, it might, I think, be said that the island syllabary is more universal at Marion in the later half-century of its existence than in the fifty years just preceding that epoch. The two distinctly Hellenizing tombs which were opened this season may both be placed before, rather than after, 350 B.C.

*Cypriote Names supplied by the Poli Inscriptions.*

[Agedikos ?]* <sup>2</sup>	Gillikas
[Andron ?]*	Keramon ??
Apollonios*	Kreon
[Aristagoras]	Kypromedon
Ariste	[Nika]
[Aristias]*	[Nikandros]
[Aristoanax]	[Onaios]
[Aristokypra]	Onasagoras
Aristomedes	Onasas
[Aristos]	Onasikretes
Diptheras ?	Onasilos
Driolias ??*	[Onasithemis ?]

<sup>1</sup> Thus  $\Psi$  is found both at Poli and Kahun. The ornate form of  $\tau\epsilon$   $\Psi$  at Poli may be represented by Mr. Petrie's  $\Psi$ ; and the  $\Pi$  of a vase from 17 may be connected rather with one of the signs on Mr. Petrie's one continuous inscription than with Greek Z [see however *sup.* p. 73]. A curious compound  $\Theta$ , occurring on a vase obtained at Poli in 1886, compares with  $\Theta$  in

Mr. Petrie's collection. It is not possible here to dwell at length on these coincidences, especially as it is understood Prof. Sayce is at work on a paper dealing with the results of the Egyptian finds in their relation to the Cypriote problem.

<sup>2</sup> Brackets indicate 'found in 1886'; asterisk 'occurs on vase only.'

Onasitimos	[Stasandros]
Opas ?	[Themistokyptra]
Parmenon	Timagoras
[Philagoras]	[Timandros]
[Philokretes]	Timoanassa
Philon ?*	[Timokretes]
Philopais	[Timokypros]
Philophao	[Timos]
[Pnytagoras]	Tryphon
[Prytilla]	[Tychon]
[Psotis]	Tynnondas*
[Solon ?]*	Zoasos
Stasagoras	

H. A. T.

## EXCAVATIONS AT LIMNITI.

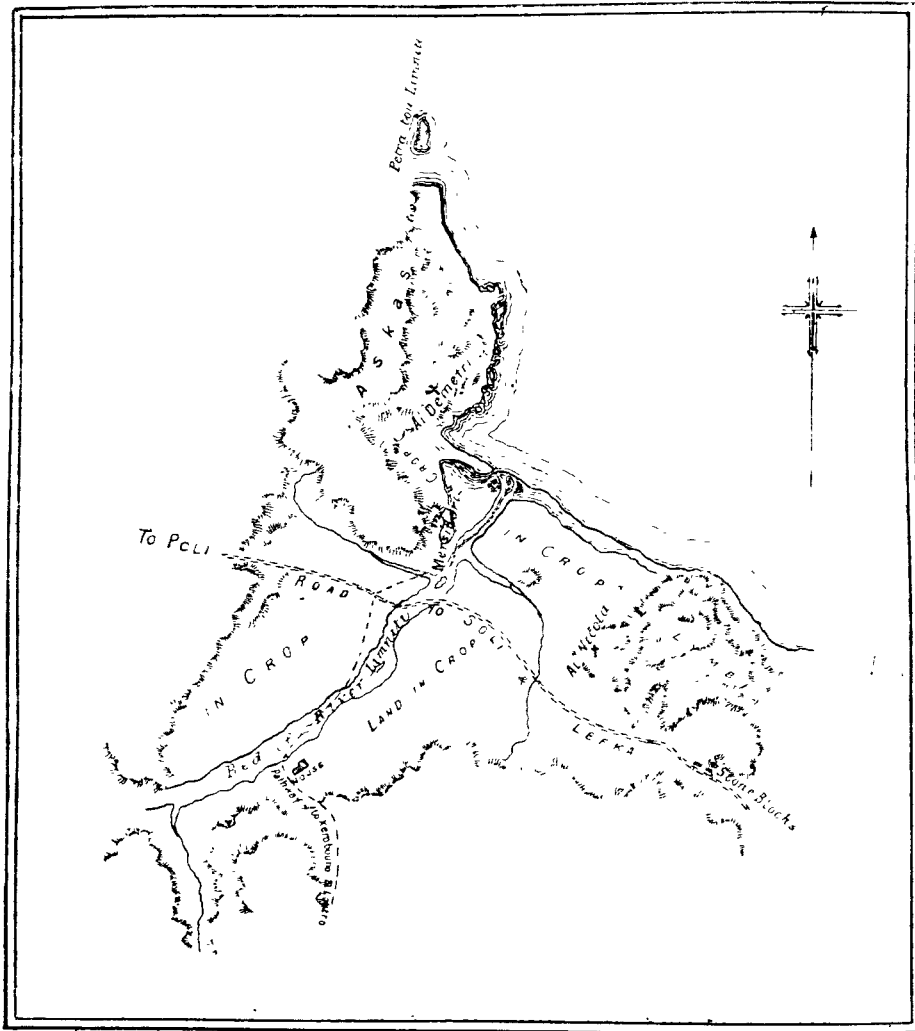
FURTHER work at Poli being impossible owing to the failure of negotiations for the Chiflik and other lands, it was resolved to devote the remainder of the season to a spot in the Limniti valley, which had already in the previous year been surveyed by Mr. Hogarth on behalf of the Exploration Fund. Illicit digging here by the villagers was known to have produced a considerable number of terra-cottas—in some cases of colossal size—and statuettes of limestone, several of which passed, through the hands of Mr. E. Constantinides of Nicosia, into the possession of the Berlin Museum. Dr. Oberhummer also had visited Limniti in 1887, and had then been shown many fragments of interest, while there was a further report that the villagers had found 'the arm of a large bronze statue.'<sup>1</sup> There seemed accordingly good reason to expect some interesting finds which, though they might fail to satisfy the fastidious taste of those who will have nothing but what is pure Greek, would yet be of real value in archaeological research.

In strictness there is no place in Cyprus called Limniti, although the Government survey does dignify with this name the single house in the valley which served as a shelter during the progress of the excavations. It is however convenient to adopt the name to indicate the valley near the site of our work, and I use Limniti accordingly in this sense, not—in its proper attribution—of the river. Passing eastward along the northern coast from Poli, the broad bay of Chrysochou is followed by the yet finer curve of Morphou bay, almost at the head of which the Limniti river, spreading out after the confinement of its upper course, issues into the sea. The coastline makes here a long gentle sweep, falling back from the headland of Askas, whose outlying spur, the Petra tou Limniti, is a landmark for miles, and

<sup>1</sup> I made inquiry for and purchased this arm on my arrival. It proved to be some 3 in. long, the forearm of a statuette of Cypriote-Greek workmanship. No further portions were dis-

covered, and the fragment itself is quite probably not from Limniti at all. No reliance can be placed on the tales of the villagers, at any rate in the Limniti district.

running out again at Androgynon, a little beyond which the roadstead of Karavostási, the harbour of Soli, begins. Prettier country, fresher air, or more complete seclusion than is to be found at Limniti the traveller could not desire; unless however he is prepared to live entirely on goat's milk he



LIMNITI AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

may run some risk of starvation. Close down to the shore, almost in fact the first cultivated land, is the plot known to the villagers as Mersinéri, the temple-site to which the efforts of the excavators were to be directed. It lies at the foot of a hill some 500 feet in height, while fifty yards away on the left, as one looks up the valley, is the river-bed, here some 200 to 250 feet



wide, thickly overgrown with ladanum, tamarisk, and other shrubs, the refuge of innumerable lizards and a few snakes. The road to Soli and Lefka crosses the river almost within a stone's cast of Mersinéri, Lefka itself being some two hours' ride distant. The nearest villages however are Loutró and Xeróbouno, a mile and a half of rough hill-climbing, where a poverty-stricken population has skilfully hidden itself to escape the notice of Turkish requisitioners. Formerly the villages stood down on the low ground to the right of the river,<sup>1</sup> sheltered by the rugged rocks of Lymbi; for here alone is there room for a hamlet, the valley itself being scarcely more than a broad torrent-bed with a delta-shaped tract of alluvial land near the sea. Two miles inland the hills close in, shutting out the upper course of the river from view.

The district about Limniti has many ancient remains. Beside Mersinéri and the neighbouring Ai Demetri, whither the sanctity of the ancient Cypriote shrine was transferred by the Christians, there is a similar sacred spot, 'Ai Nicóla,' half a mile or so away on the opposite bank of the river. On this latter site I found a fragment of a Cypriote inscription<sup>2</sup>, some portions of statuary and innumerable broken tiles, which induced me after closing the work at Mersinéri to sink some probing shafts here also. These brought to light close under the surface the drum of a Roman column, a slab of the architrave, two stelae, quite plain except that on the base of one were cut the letters EF, and several feet of a modern wall.<sup>3</sup> To the left, seaward, of Ai Nicóla there are several tombs of a very poor class, almost without exception rifled by the villagers, who found little to reward their pains. The tombs lie in the first rising ground at the foot of Lymbi, a hill which has been used in ancient times as a quarry. In a dip alongside the road to Lefka are three columnar blocks of stone, apparently unfinished work which had simply been rolled down the slope and left. Two of them bore inscribed letters, probably meaningless, although on one it seemed the word MAXIM(us) had once stood. The age of the cutting could scarcely be determined, as the stone had long been exposed to the weather. Still further along the Soli Lefka road, just beyond the highest point of the ascent, rises on the left the sheer bluff of Vouni, where there are remains of walls built on the levelled rock. The hill-crest is flat, and towards its centre is a fine old well, which, though only some six feet in diameter at the mouth, opens out at a depth of a yard or two into a spacious chamber, shaped like a diving-bell, fifteen feet from wall to wall, and cut entirely in the rock. The present depth is about twenty-four feet; originally it must have been far greater, for the owner of the land has used the well as a convenient receptacle

<sup>1</sup> So the inhabitants state themselves. There is little or no trace of buildings, which however need cause no surprise, as a few years suffice to turn a deserted house into the mud of which it was originally made.

<sup>2</sup> Only a single letter  $\Psi$  was preserved; it had formed the end of a line.

<sup>3</sup> The Fund had only secured the owner's

rights for Mersinéri. By an arrangement with the owner of Ai Nicola I was enabled to test the character of the site, and found that to clear it would have required more time and money than were at my command. It is more than doubtful whether the site would repay the expense of clearing.



PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS AT LINNITI SCALE 40 FEET TO THE INCH

for the numerous stones which interfered with his cultivation of the soil, so that I found nothing more in it of interest than the rotting bones of a stray ram. On the hill were many fragments of pottery of various kinds, and the hand, holding a dove, from a statuette of Cypriote style; while from a villager was obtained a terra-cotta figure with the type of face<sup>1</sup> which clearly marks the influence of Phœnician art. On the seaward slope of the hill are other openings in the ground, either wells or grain-pits, all more or less encumbered; and half-way down the owner of the land had got together a 'pocket' of various fragments, in the hope of striking a lucrative bargain for land which had never contained a single antique. Vague stories of other sites were to hand, but the suspicious fear of the villagers being at least equal to their cupidity, guides were not easily procured, nor when they were obtained had they anything worth note to show.

#### DESCRIPTION OF PLAN.

*A.*—Trench, 99' long, 2' 9" — 4' broad, 1' 6" to 6' 6" deep.

*B.*—Trench, 121' long, 2' 5" — 3' 6" broad, 1' 6" to 7" deep.

*C.*—Trench, 9' long, 3' broad, 4' deep.

[Head of *C* subsequently carried round to *D* with a view to strike wall]

*D.*—Trench, 18' long  $\times$  2' 9" to 7' 6" broad  $\times$  4' 6" deep.

*D*<sub>1</sub>.—A short shaft, 5' deep, sunk to ascertain character of ground: working subsequently continued underground as indicated by shading and a junction effected with a similar prolongation of trench *E*.

*E, F.*—Two trenches subsequently united. From rock-wall at head of *E* (underground) to other end of trench 31', width variable, depth 4' to 6' 6". *F*, 25' long.

*G.*—Trench, 33' long, width variable, about 4', depth 3' 6" to 4' 6".

*H.*—Trench, 21' long, width variable, about 4', depth 3' 6" to 4' 6".

*H*<sub>1</sub>.—Short shaft—4' 6" deep—to ascertain continuance of rock-wall.

*I.*—At first trench, afterwards digging was carried up to the natural rock of the hill slope. Space excavated 61' long  $\times$  16" broad  $\times$  4' — 5' 6" deep.

*K.*—Shaft and trench to strike, if existing, the continuation of rock-wall. 32'  $\times$  13'  $\times$  4' 6".

*L.*—Probing trench, 49'  $\times$  4' to 5'  $\times$  1' to 2" deep.

*M.*—Probing trench, 9'  $\times$  3'  $\times$  2"

*P.*—Shaft to lay bare angle of wall.

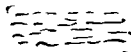
*a, b, c.*—Three probing shafts.

*Z.*—Cutting for draining purposes.

~~Sketch~~ Wall of loose unworked stone: where it runs along base of hill only a working of the natural rock filled in here and there with stone.

<sup>1</sup> The type exhibited for example in a great number of objects from Kameiros and found spread over the whole Mediterranean, from Syria to Sardinia.

The dark portions represent parts actually laid bare: the plain double line indicating the practically certain course of the wall as it once existed. Both in *F'* and *I* the wall breaks off abruptly, and no evidence was afforded by further digging of its return. Yet the villagers make vague assertions of its occurrence in the ground crossed by our trenches *G*, *I* and *L*.

 The presence of water is indicated only where found by actual digging or sounding. But it is abundantly clear from the level of the ground and the look, taste and consistency of the soil that the whole tract below the hill-slope is at a uniform level saturated with water, whose probable presence is indicated by a line in distinct character.

xxx.—Chief find spots.

To return, however, to Limniti itself. The more precise nature of the site Mersinéri, as well as of the excavations, will be readily seen from the accompanying plans; a detailed description is therefore unnecessary. One circumstance caused no little trouble. Drainage from the neighbouring slopes of Askas, and underground springs, turned the soil into a swamp two spades' depth from the surface; even where the land began to rise water filled the trenches as soon as the same level was reached, here some five feet down.<sup>1</sup> The ground moreover had been greatly disturbed; not only had it long been under cultivation, but the villagers had dug over the site, leaving confusion behind them. There can be no doubt that the shrine suffered greatly in antiquity: not a statue at Limniti has been found complete, or even nearly so,<sup>2</sup> but the numerous heads are less injured than might have been expected.<sup>3</sup> In one spot was a refuse heap of rude idols packed so tightly together that the workmen could not get their knives in between them.<sup>4</sup>

Actual digging began on Tuesday, April 23rd, after a delay due to the Easter festival and the difficulty of getting the crops on the site cut. Two long trenches, *A* and *B*, were first run from the fountain across the one half of Philactes' field to the slope of the hill, and from their result it was clear that what was to be found at Mersinéri would lie to the north. Subsequent digging proved that the antiquities all clustered closely under the hill,

<sup>1</sup> Attempts to drain off the water produced no appreciable result: the fall into the stream from the fountain is too slight, and had the excavating trenches at this point been dug anything like the proper depth they would have received the whole of the water from this very considerable spring (see plan).

<sup>2</sup> Some of the smaller objects were more fortunate, though few even of them are left entire. The numerous fragments of arms, legs and feet need not all have originally formed part of

statues: bodily members as *ἀναθήματα* are not necessarily, though certainly in most cases, rounded and finished off so as to be complete in themselves. At Limniti however not one of the fragments but showed a broken edge. It is singular that scarcely anything remains of the torsos: the loss of those in terra-cotta may perhaps be explainable.

<sup>3</sup> Thanks to the wet loam in which they have been imbedded.

<sup>4</sup> Head of trench II [see plan].

following the line of its base; in fact, no wall could have been placed near the fountain if the land was at much the same level in 400 B.C. as to-day. In the course of our four-and-a-half days' work it became certain that 'the temple' at Mersinéri had been one of those grove-shrines so frequent in Cyprus and peculiar to Phoenician ritual<sup>1</sup>—the parish church of a simple agricultural folk. The whole enclosure was of humble dimensions, in general shape roughly resembling the outline of an egg placed lengthwise. Portions of the ancient wall were laid bare and are marked on the plan; the masonry consists merely of unworked round stones of differing sizes held together by a mud mortar. The entrance to the enclosure no doubt lay on the east side not far from the fountain; opposite, and nearer the hill-slope, was the main altar,<sup>2</sup> before which the ceremony of incense-burning<sup>3</sup> probably took place. All along the hill-wall from *D*, round to the corner at the end of trench *I*, were ranged the dedicatory gifts, statues, and statuettes;<sup>4</sup> but where certain colossal figures stood is less clear, possibly not far from the entrance and near the altar.<sup>5</sup> Rudely made figures representing players on various kinds of instruments,<sup>6</sup> fruits and animals in terra-cotta, may be taken as the offerings of those who were too poor to provide themselves with the costly dress suited<sup>7</sup> to the musical services with which the god was honoured, or to present before his shrine fresh every festival the fruits and flowers whose tithe was fitly given to the power that had made them spring up, bloom, and ripen. Wealthier devotees perpetuated their sacrifices by dedicating animals in stone or bronze; just as they endeavoured to keep their memory green in the mind of their god by confronting him with statues of themselves dressed in the robes of ceremony. Probably at stated intervals a *πᾶννυξίς* was celebrated, at which the grove was lighted up by the lamps carried by priests and people; but other features in the ritual of the Limniti temple can hardly be learnt from the antiquities found on its site.

<sup>1</sup> The difference is curious and rather instructive: while the Phoenician grove was a 'high place,' the Cypriote shrine was regularly down in the valley.

<sup>2</sup> I came across no indication of the altar itself, although a chance coincidence produced some animal vertebrae [sheep and ox] from a spot near by. It was probably of rough stones, or even of earth only: as generally with a ritual borrowed from the Phoenicians [cf. *e.g.* Gen. xxii. 9, Ex. xx. 24 and 25, Judges vi. 25, 1 Kings xviii. 30—in fact O.T. *passim*].

<sup>3</sup> Two *θυμιατήρια* were found—one in *D*, not far from which near *D* the altar, as I suppose, stood; the other in *I*. (It should be mentioned that the trenches are lettered consecutively in the order in which they were begun.) Other and similar objects, intended probably for the same use, were turned up in *F* and on the surface. Cesnola, *Atlas*, lxvi. 434 and 433, illustrates two 'altar-shaped offerings' of stone from

'the temple of Golgoi.' They bear, he says, 'traces of fire': in those I recovered there were none.

For the practice *v. Ex. xxx. 1-10, Levit. v. 1-5.*

<sup>4</sup> The 'images,' which in the O. T. are so often mentioned in connection with the 'groves and high places,' need not be understood always of the god worshipped, but rather as representing his worshippers, and corresponding to the numerous figures of men found in Cypriote *τεμένη*. Cf. Isai. xxvii. 9.

<sup>5</sup> There are two heads in Berlin, and I found one or two fragments from similar colossi in *D* and *F*. Large-sized statues of terra-cotta were sometimes given the requisite strength by a rough core of stone-baked clay.

<sup>6</sup> The instruments represented are the double flute, cymbals, tambourine.

<sup>7</sup> For the dress of the professional musician cf. *Hdt. i. 24. 6.* It is as a god of music that the full dress is proper to Apollo.

Of the objects of more general interest—a summarized list is given below<sup>1</sup>—a few deserve especial mention. As it was mainly with the hope of securing valuable bronzes that the Fund decided to carry out excavations at Limniti, it may be as well to deal first with such antiquities in that metal as were discovered. Of considerable interest is a small statuette  $4\frac{3}{4}$  in. high (Fig. 9) inclusive of sullage-pieces and plume, which fortunately was recovered



FIG. 9.

entire. It represents a warrior figure, unarmed save for a plumed Cypriote helmet from under which a heavy wig of hair falls on to the neck: the left arm

<sup>1</sup> In stone: *Statuettes*.—The body treated in the lazy, flat style habitual in Cyprus, the heads rendered with more care, and showing the gradual adoption and final supremacy of Greek art-teaching. The stone statuettes are generally female, whereas those in terra-cotta are male.

*Miscellaneous*: lamps, *θυμιατήρια*, animals, cone, clay-mill stone.

In terra cotta:

*Statues* above life-size.—Only fragments found.

*Statues* life-size.—Heads and fragments.

*Statues* small.—Heads and fragments.

In one case only was part of the torso discovered.

*Masks*: generally life-size.

*Figurines*:

[a] Cypriote in style and conception.

[b] Greek: probably imported.

[c] Rude *ἀγάλματα* of native fabric.

[d] Rough genre figures of musicians, having reference to the ritual; also mounted figures.

[e] Horned centaur. Several were found in the previous digging by the villagers, and are now in Berlin.

*Miscellaneous*: Fruits, flowers, animals; part of chariot; *θυμιατήριον*; object somewhat resembling a strigil; discs (weights, cf. similar objects in Berlin, 6082, 6743-4, 6789, 8162, which however are stamped with names or moulded with figures. See also previous note); lamps; fragment of black-glazed stamped and fluted pottery.

In metal: iron, head of dart; nails.

bronze, three statuettes [two imperfect]; animals; coin: leaves of bay; nails; fragments.

In addition I need only mention a blue paste scarabaeoid, with device of a lion and goat (i).

with closed fist is brought across the chest, the right hangs quietly against the hip; the left leg is slightly advanced. The figure is nearly nude, its only dress being a girdle arranged about its loins in a manner not very dissimilar to that represented<sup>1</sup> in Perrot and Chipiez's *History of Ancient Art* ('Phoenicia,' vol. ii., figs. 27, 28, Eng. Trans.). One end of the girdle hangs down in front, the other behind, resting on the left thigh. Nose and ears are extravagant in their proportions,<sup>2</sup> but as regards the ear the extravagance may be intentional, the artist having in view an ear-covering such as is so frequent on Cypriote figures.<sup>3</sup> The rendering of the body is quite flat at the back, and hardly less so in front. Nothing is given but a bare scheme of the human figure, and no attempt is made to express the musculature or roundness of life. Altogether the bronze has a decidedly primitive air, which is not diminished by its stiff pose and the sullage-pieces still left on the feet. That the work is archaic is not however a necessary inference, and in fact the little figure belongs at the earliest to the latter half of the fifth century B.C.<sup>4</sup> The attribution of the statuette is not certain, but it may with con-

<sup>1</sup> Perrot takes these figures to illustrate an earlier style of Phoenician dress, afterwards exchanged for a long aba. Instead however of claiming the girdle of the Limniti statuette as the peculiar property of Phoenicia or Cyprus, it may more justly be looked upon as an appropriate 'active service' costume. The girdle is generally so recognized in the East. In the O. T. it is continually mentioned, and always in connection with some form of exertion [cf. e.g. 1 Sam. xviii. 4, 1 Kings ii. 5, 2 Kings i. 8, Isa. viii. 9, xxii. 21, Exod. xii. 11, Job xii. 18, and indeed O. T. *passim*]. The use of the metaphor, 'a girdle about the loins,' speaks even more plainly. The handling of the bronze in the statuette seems to indicate a leather girdle (for which cf. e.g. Matth. ii. 4, 2 Kings i. 8); but the workmanship is not sufficiently good to make this certain.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Marach bronze illustrated, 'Perrot and Chipiez' II. fig. 43 (E. T.).

<sup>3</sup> That the statuette is male raises no objection. The ear-tire is generally associated with female heads; but for the opposite practice see e.g. Cesnola, *Atlas*, pl. xxiii. 55, and cf. also a rude helmeted ἀγαλμα from Limniti now in Berlin [Antiquarium, 2nd Cyprus case], and its counterpart, a terra-cotta head of ordinary size, also in Berlin [*ibid.*].

The ear-ornament is generally accompanied by a profusion of jewellery—gorget necklaces and stomachers; in at least one case the nose-ring is added [Berlin Antiq. 1st Cyprus case, no. 55; from Dali]. An ear-tire was therefore part of religious full-dress. Such adornment naturally suggests a cult of Aphrodite; and in fact a

statuette from Papho shows a female figure carrying, besides these ornaments, a dove [Berlin, *ib.* no. 64]. It is not necessary to call the statuette an Aphrodite; it may be only a mortal woman wearing the sacred costume of the goddess she worships [cf. Cesnola, *Atlas*, pl. x. 12, wrongly described as an Aphrodite]. In the Brit. Mus. is an Astarte-like figure from Kameiros, with similar ear-tire [1st Vase R. Table-case B], and the ornament is not infrequent at Kameiros, which was under the same Phoenician influence as Cyprus. In two, among the several, examples found this season at Limniti, the ear is closely covered by a sort of muslin cap, then drawn together and *goffered*. Ordinarily the ornament takes the form of a tassel split lengthwise; when Greek style obtains the upper hand it gradually disappears, but is represented for long by a large disc turned full to the front [apparently the sculptor intends a rosette].

The interest of the practice consists in the light it throws on the extent to which Cyprus was, in daily life and manners, oriental.

<sup>4</sup> In Cyprus especially the rule obtains that the primitive is not per consequence old. A bronze like that in Perrot, *Phoenicia*, vol. II. fig. 1, is not to be accepted off-hand as an example of early Phoenician work. Perrot remarks: 'to the feet [of the statuette], which are bare, still hang the sullage-pieces, which may be taken as evidence of the extreme age of the bronze.' But such 'evidence' is extremely doubtful: the sullage-pieces were not left on because the maker did not understand the use of a file, any more than in the Limniti figurine; nor is there anything in Perrot's bronze to con-

siderable probability<sup>1</sup> be called an Apollo Amyklaios (Resef-Mikal). Resef-Mikal was at once a deity of war and of nature, associating himself also with an orgiastic worship; in Cyprus he is found in company with Astarte-Aphrodite, enjoying a common shrine.

The flat and lazy, rather than helpless, workmanship of this statuette of Apollo<sup>2</sup> explains itself when the political condition of Cyprus is taken into account. All through the fifth century the island was but little in contact with Greek art. The attempts of Athens, victorious as they were in appearance, brought no solid or lasting advantage to the cause of Hellenic culture, and Cyprus remained wholly in the power of Persia. Accordingly the period of development in Greek art finds little or no reflection in the island: having been to some extent cognizant with the archaic school the Cypriotes do not again encounter Greek plastic till, from 400 B.C. onwards, it is presented to them as a method already perfected. It is this fact among others which goes to explain the superficiality of Cypriote art in its imitation of Greece. On the other hand the training imparted by Phoenicia was almost forgotten. The introduction by conquering powers, first of Egyptian then of Assyro-Persian art, had effectually disturbed the course of such development as Cypriote plastic might otherwise have followed. Taught by his first master to imitate, the Cypriote artist improved upon the lesson and turned courtier. In a bronze like this from Limniti an older technique survives, which, having for the moment freed itself from the adventitious elements of foreign styles, has still failed to attain self-sufficiency.

The two other statuettes from Limniti are quite distinct in manner of rendering, a difference they largely owe to the unique method of their fabrication. While the Resef-Mikal figure is solid-cast, these are produced by a process resembling that *en cire perdue*.<sup>3</sup> The clay core at Limniti seems however to be made of a somewhat ferruginous earth, a circumstance which calls to mind the iron centres found in some bronzes from Assyria, as also in an

neet it with Phoenician art beyond the fact that it comes from Latakia, where a considerable trade is done in 'Alexandrian' goods.

It would be an advantage if the term 'primitive' were never used in archaeology without the addition of a date. Nothing can be more misleading than simply to describe an object as 'primitive': such a description is generally an intentional ambiguity. The 'primitive,' 'Mycenaean, and earliest Cypriote' pottery is manufactured still in the island, and may be had any day in the bazaar at Nicosia; it is not intended for the archaeological market, but is simply the ware in common use. 'Primitive' vases with geometric devices, especially the concentric rings, are plentiful down to Roman times [and so Colonna Ceccealdi rightly states, *Mons. ant. de Chypre*, &c. p. 279]; the best examples come from 4th century and Ptolemaic tombs.

<sup>1</sup> For details of preceding description; some

confirmation is added below. In a poor district like Limniti the use of solid-cast bronze is significant; there is no question of ideal art. Several little bronzes superficially resembling this from Limniti are in the Lange collection, and are catalogued as 'kings.' They are however obvious imitations of the Egyptian 'Pharaoh' type. A similar figure in stone, Cesn. *Atlas*, pl. xlviii. 286.

<sup>2</sup> See illustration.

<sup>3</sup> For the process *en cire perdue* v. Bischoff *Das Kupfer und seine Legirungen*, p. 204. It is not much used now. At Limniti this method must have been still somewhat rude, the core being but roughly-shaped and the wax scarcely moulded at all. The result is that the figures have a general, easy roundness which leaves much to be desired in point of accuracy and truth; but the artist can at least claim that this mode of casting was 'all his own invention.'



early Etruscan statuette from Lessa on the Volturno, now in the British Museum. The latter figure has split under the pressure of its core, and the same fate has overtaken the objects from Limniti, among which must be reckoned beside the statuettes several animals of various kinds.<sup>1</sup> Neither of the statuettes is well preserved; in one the head, right shoulder, arm, and foot are wanting; in the other, though the head remains, it is so encrusted and so deformed by pressure, internal or external, that the value of the work is gone.<sup>2</sup> Both figures are quite nude, except that in the one there is a strange,

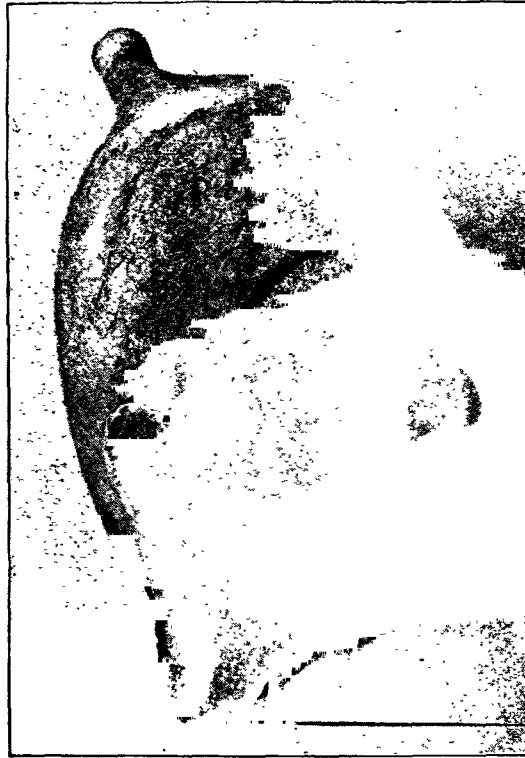


FIG. 10.

nearly conical, mass on the front of the abdomen, possibly intended for the phallus, but also possibly marking that peculiar 'bathing-drawer' costume which occurs sometimes on Cypriote statues.<sup>3</sup>

A detailed description is not necessary of the heads in terra-cotta and

<sup>1</sup> All of rough workmanship and conventional; the legs are mere stumps. The Berlin Antiquarium also has one such animal and part of a second. The subjects are a sheep, an ox (?), a dog (?).

<sup>2</sup> The former is at present in the British Museum; the latter at Nicosia.

<sup>3</sup> Examples may be seen in Cesnola, *Atlas*, pl. xxv.

limestone; they belong to the class of which every Cypriote *τέμενος* furnishes indeed numerous examples but few data as to their meaning. At Limniti three varieties may be distinguished. There are, first, male heads, both bearded and youthful, wearing a helmet,<sup>1</sup> sometimes higher, sometimes lower, and in style distinctly Cypriote (Fig. 10); secondly, there are female heads, which again subdivide into two classes, the one of a Semitic and masculine type, the other Hellenized and apparently later in date. As the male heads reproduce in large the prevalent type of the rude *ἀγάλματα*, so too at least the first class of female heads have a peculiar *ἀγαλμα* corresponding to them. They wear a high stephane; on their neck rest two long locks of hair, or, as they ought more probably to be described, two ornamental pendants; and one head at least has, sprouting from her left temple,<sup>2</sup> an unmistakable horn (Fig. 11). In this subdivision must be included also some heads which show already the influence of Greek style, but are yet a long way removed from the other, and thoroughly



FIG. 11.

Hellenized, family. These latter generally wear a wreath, in most cases of oleander or olive, the sculptor endeavouring to represent in stone or clay what when actually worn was a metal stephane, composed of a band of leaves

<sup>1</sup> This trait is obviously a reproduction of the type of the *ἀγάλματα*.

<sup>2</sup> On the right temple the clay has been broken away, but there was evidently a horn there also originally. On another head there would seem to be some remnant of this feature: the appearance presented by the terra-cotta is just as though the horn had been broken and were hanging down from under the stephane by the skin only. This makes me somewhat doubtful whether the horn may not be simply a part of the head-gear, rendered by the artist in an abbreviated fashion; otherwise there must clearly be here an instance

of the 'horned Astarte,' appearing however not in her own person but in that of her worshipper and imitator.

This class of figures may help to explain why at Limniti centaurs appear with horns, long hair falling on the neck, and outstretched arms so curved as to suggest a crescent.

Some of the female heads of this type have either a *κίτταρις* or helmet.

The three classes of heads and the types of *ἀγάλματα* will be best understood by the accompanying illustrations.

*affrontis*, and finished off below with a row of rounded points resting on a frissette of hair, which crowns the forehead after a formal fashion of coiffure (Fig. 12).<sup>1</sup>



FIG. 12.

<sup>1</sup> A fashion hieratic rather than archaistic in purpose, if a distinction can be drawn. It is useful to compare the 'Artemisia' and the head known as 'Aphrodite' from the Mausoleum, where there may be a similarity of thought. For shape of wreath v. Cesn., *Atlas*, pl. lxxv.

The meaning of these Cypriot statuettes is by no means as yet completely explained. Two or three points are certain: there is always a more or less strong suggestion of portraiture: consequently there is not at any temple a single fixed type, such as might, though in a humble sense, be treated as ideal and divine. On the other hand, there is a certain element of continuity in the different groups, supplied by a fixed scheme of dress and ornament. With these data to work upon the theory that kings and priests were represented in these statues was early put forward—a theory accepted apparently by the late Dr. Birch [*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*

1883, May 1st, p. 121]. Ermann thinks the theory has been too hastily adopted, and believes that the statues being ex-votos are therefore necessarily deities. 'Surely a closer inspection would render it almost a certainty that the two long series of bearded heads, one helmeted, the other crowned with a wreath, ought to represent the two forms of Apollo mentioned above [*Ἄμμυκλαῖος* and *Ἰλάτης*. Ermann, 'On the Origin of the Cypriot Syllabary,' *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1883, pp. 113 and foll.]. Ermann's view rests on a quite unsound hypothesis; but neither is the alternative theory altogether satisfactory. The Linniti heads afford some help to a third and, I think, preferable explanation. If they represented kings, these could only be the kings of Soli, and there are far too many statues for the number of reigning kings during the period (*v. infra*) during which this sanctuary was open. A similar objection, though with less

As these heads in most cases are strongly under the influence of Greek style,<sup>1</sup> so those of the opposite sex are almost purely Cypriote. It is interesting to observe how Greek forms and mannerisms are used as a sort of top-dressing for the distinct social type of the people of Cyprus; and superficial as the union may be, it is handled sometimes with no inconsiderable skill. Many writers still, to all appearance, assume that it was only Phoenicia who combined and fused foreign schools of art to form a style of her own, and have, in consequence, when dealing for example with Cypriote pottery, made this assumption their sole *fundamentum divisionis* for the workmanship of the two peoples. Cyprus quite as much as Phoenicia borrows her art; the difference between them lies in the spirit of the borrowing, and the elements in their style which the respective nations regard as permanent. In Cyprus the element of permanence is found in the racial type, which, whatever the surface style may be—Assyrian, Egyptian, or Greek—forms always the background. The Cypriote artist did not invent portraiture, but he is always groping after its principles.

Another very distinct class among the antiquities from Limniti comprises female figures moulded to a strikingly hieratic pose. One hand is folded across the breast and holds a flower,<sup>2</sup> the other placed by the side sometimes grasps the drapery. All made of terra-cotta and small in size, these objects are peculiar in that the back is left quite flat, while the figure as a whole is often decidedly convex. There is no mistaking the obvious resemblance to a sarcophagus-lid with its recumbent figure in relief; the moulding only of head, arms and feet, the butt against which the latter rest, the stiff 'laid-out' pose, the flower, the very type of face distinct from that of neighbouring work in the round, mark a very close analogy to the series of Phoenician sarcophagi, whatever the date to which the latter should be assigned.<sup>3</sup> These terra-cottas

force, applies to the theory which makes them priests; moreover the presence of helmeted heads is here a little awkward. The statues are certainly ex-votos; but instead of being images of the god they are those of his worshippers, whether king, priest, noble, or merchant. By an idea very prevalent in at any rate the Hebrew section of the Semitic stock, the devotee honours the deity by conforming to his likeness [cf. also Plato's well-known doctrine, *Rep.* x.]. The Cypriote statues represent the worshipper under the aspect of one who in assuming some of the attributes of his god pays him the highest honour he can. In one instance in Berlin [*Intiq.* 2nd Cyprus case] a helmeted head from a statue is an almost exact reproduction of an *ἑγάλμα* which has been a little more fully rendered than usual. Contrary to the opinion just expressed, this comparison might seem to require the attribution of both statue and *ἑγάλμα* to the same deity. But the statue cannot be separated from its fellows; nor can its individualism of rendering be overlooked.

<sup>1</sup> The torso, where preserved, is on the contrary quite free from this influence.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the flower is absent, but the type is not, in strictness, complete without it.

<sup>3</sup> Terra-cottas of this class are frequent also in other localities. [Cesn., *Atlas*, pl. xxvi. nos. 66, 67, 69, where the flower is clearly a lotus, showing both the origin and the meaning of the figures. Nos. 68, 70 on the same plate should be contrasted; they are in the round, and have a different purpose.] There are also male figures belonging to the same type [*Atlas*, pl. li.]. 'A stele of calcareous stone, with figure in relief [*Atlas*, pl. xiv.], is also to be compared; it so far varies from the canonic type that the left foot is slightly raised, a freer *motif* perhaps due to the necessity of placing the stele upright.

At Limniti there were also examples of the Greek method of handling the theme. The figure becomes quite free, almost *négligé*, and the butt of the sarcophagus-lid appears as a true pedestal. This class was by no means infrequent in the

bring us once more within the wide sphere of ideas belonging to the ritual of the dead, a ritual which, according to Milchhöfer, came to Greece from Lykia, but in reality, so far as it was not of native growth, found its way to both Lykia and Greece from the same source in the East, where an immortality of the soul was a popular rather than a mystic or philosophical doctrine. But why figures having so undisguised reference to the grave should be placed as *ἀναθήματα* in a temple is not self-evident; their proper place is in a tomb, where indeed they are frequently found.<sup>1</sup>

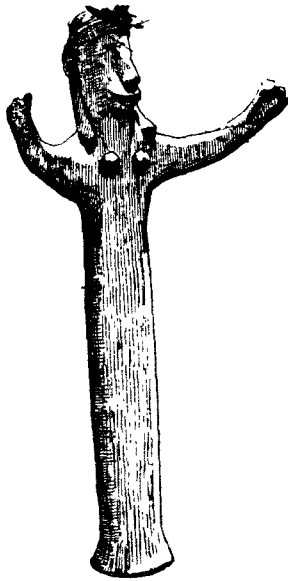


FIG. 13.

Lastly, the *ἀγάλματα* deserve a moment's notice. These are rudely fashioned figures—almost without exception male—dressed in a long robe whose ends are brought crosswise over the breast,<sup>2</sup> and wearing high helmets,

tombs at Poli; it is represented also by a number of terra-cottas from Kameiros [Brit. Mus. T.-C. R<sup>m</sup>]. Those found in Cyprus are very possibly imported, at least specimens from Limniti and Poli have come from a single mould. The Kameiros figures show the sense in which the type was understood in Greece. They are reproductions, with omission merely of one or two attributes of a scheme which, in Greece, can only be assigned to Persephone. Similarly the Cypriote variety is almost a copy of the figure of Aphrodite, as used for the body of an alabastos [several vases of this kind from Kameiros are in the Brit. Mus.]. The dead

clothe themselves with the character of the goddess with whom they are associated [cf. *sup.* p. 41, n. 3].

<sup>1</sup> Were it critically possible it would be natural to follow the hint supplied by several terra-cottas from Cyprus which are caricatures, and suppose that this type, in a temple, has a satiric meaning. For such figures cf. Cesn., *Atlas*, pl. xxiv. 57-59, two of which are given also by Perrot, *Phoenicia*, II. figs. 137 and 138. Cf. also examples in the Lang Collection.

<sup>2</sup> So apparently the lines of paint, appearing on the better-shaped specimens, are to be interpreted [*De dea Syria*, 35; for the beard *ibid.*].

shaped like an exaggerated *κίτταρις*, which in some instances have bosses upon them. The face is bearded, the nose large: on the neck there is indication of a gorget: from the waist down the body is simply a roughly rounded column, at times extravagantly long, and against it the arms are closely pressed. One or two *ἀγάλματα* of the female sex were also found, of a slightly less rude type, having outstretched arms, and for head-tire a sort of stephane (Fig. 13). In Berlin also are two figures<sup>1</sup> with the now familiar *motif* of a nude woman pressing her breasts.

That these *ἀγάλματα* are rightly so named, and do in fact represent divinities, is beyond question: the inevitable comparison with the numerous statues of a Cypriote *τέμενος*, which, as most archaeologists are agreed, do *not* reproduce a divine ideal, brings out into relief the prevailing character of religion in Cyprus. 'Deity' among the Hellenes was an apotheosis of national culture, and therefore, if the contradiction may be allowed, human: among the Cypriotes it belonged, as an idea, to the infinite, a mysticism not comprehensible by men and therefore incapable of realization by art.<sup>2</sup> The Greek attempted a portrait of his divinity in black and white, the Cypriote symbolized the godhead. As a consequence the sensuous enervated Cypriote was still religious, the Greek was not. There are three stages in religion as we pass from Syria to Greece: Judaism was, in essence, free from, to use its own term, idolatry: Phœnicia employed symbolism, to express however rather locality than idea: Cyprus halts a little between two opinions, and allows pure symbolism to acquire an anthropomorphic bias.<sup>3</sup>

It remains to speak of the attribution of the *τέμενος* at Limniti and the date of the antiquities found there. Some archaeologists have thought that at Limniti was the *Διὸς ἄλσος* of which Strabo speaks: I have even seen it suggested that Limniti was Strabo's Limenia and 'the harbour of Soli' (!). The first identification is unsatisfactory, the second all but impossible:<sup>4</sup> at

<sup>1</sup> One of them however cannot with certainty be ascribed to Limniti: style, clay, and type of head rather suggest the neighbouring Vouni. The objects in Berlin have been obtained from Messrs. Constantinides and Richter of Nicosia, who in turn had purchased from the villagers. It is the statements of the latter which are the only ground for designating the find spot.

<sup>2</sup> *De dea Syria* § 35.

<sup>3</sup> Some of the Ionic towns, Ephesus *e.g.*, show the extent to which Greek religion could assimilate itself to the Oriental. In Cyprus, Orientalism tries to assume a Greek dress.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo says: εἰθ' ὁ 'Ακάμας ἐστὶ μετὰ Πάφον· εἴτα πρὸς ἑω μετὰ τὸν 'Ακάμαντα πλοῦς εἰς Ἀρσινόην καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄλσος· εἴτα Σόλοι πόλις

Λιμένα ἔχουσα.....ὑπέρεται δὲ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ (i.e. inland from Soli) Λιμενία πόλις· εἰθ' ἡ Κρομμύου ἄκρα κ.τ.λ.

(a) The Greek makes it clear that Arsinoe and the *Διὸς ἄλσος* are to be closely joined: otherwise the article is otiose, there being no famous 'grove of Zeus' along the Northern coast. Strabo goes by stages, and Limniti, were it mentioned, would be included in the Soli district.

(b) A grove of Zeus is not antecedently probable in a purely Cypriote and perhaps somewhat rude district. [At the present time it is the most barbarous in the island.] As against this however stands the fact that Soli was a centre of Greek influence. So however, and probably to a greater degree, was Marion

best Limniti was a small and unimportant shrine, frequented probably by no one but the rustic population of a tiny though fertile valley, and by the casual traveller journeying by the coast-road from Soli to the west, or sailors putting in for water before making the long and troublesome run to Carpas. There was no πόλις in the Limniti valley in Strabo's time: at most a small village may have stood there: and the god worshipped was a form of the Cypriote Apollo,—Apollo Amyklaios, as he may best be called.<sup>1</sup> There was also a goddess associated with Apollo at Limniti, and if so she is not Artemis but Aphrodite, who as Astarte is the appropriate companion<sup>2</sup> of Resef-Mikal, sharing with him a common office, to lead the Semites on their wanderings, and to watch over the increase of the people both by war and colonization and by the processes of reproductive nature. Aphrodite cannot however have played an important part at Limniti: reference to her worship in the objects found there is not frequent.<sup>3</sup>

With regard to the date of the antiquities there are several indications of value. Terra-cottas of Greek style were unearthed which cannot be earlier than 350—300 B.C.: fragments of Attic pottery, black-glazed, with stamped patterns or fluted, belong to the same date: and a portion of a marble tablet

(Arsinoe), 'Ελληνίς as Scylax calls it [*Perip.* 103].

(c) There exists a yet unexplored temple-site at Poli.

(d) The antiquities found at Limniti have no discoverable relation to Zeus, but are closely connected with Apollo in his Cypriote form. The helmeted ἀγάλματα can only represent Apollo: helmeted heads, like those here dedicated by worshippers, have been found in other τεμένη of Apollo. Other evidence is afforded by details already described.

As to Limniti being Limenia, the writer who suggests this view can never have read Strabo; and when he makes it the 'harbour of Soli' he shows an equal ignorance of the topography of the Soli district, and the practical conditions of commerce.

<sup>1</sup> For Apollo Amyklaios and his warlike character cf. Paus. III. 10. 8: 19. 2: Plut. *de Pyth. Or.* 402 A: the helmeted Apollo on coins of Kalymna; Ross *Insc. Ined.* 282: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879. 322, compared with Hesych *s.v.* ἀγρότην, &c.: — See generally Preller, '*Gr. Myth.*' ed. Robert, p. 274. Apollo 'Amyklaios' is simply Apollo 'Mikal'; the adoption of the title being helped by a popular etymology. But Resef-Mikal had another side: he became identified with 'Adonis,' the 'greatest of the gods' and patron of Byblos [Strabo XVI. ii. 18, p. 755] the father of agriculture, and the same person as Sanchoniathon's 'Αγρόνηπος or 'Αγρότης [*Sanch.* p. 20 ed. Orelli: for Adonis in

this character cf. Aug. *de Civ. Dei* vii. 21]. Apollo-Amyklaios was also a nature-god: and hence his association with Hyakinthos. A Cypriote festival corresponded to the Hyakinthia and had the same meaning [cf. the Apollo Mageiros of Pyla: Ceccaldi *Mons. de Chypre*, &c. p. 199, Pyla Inscr. No. 1]. In Greece Apollo, as the god of agriculture and cattle-rearing, is given the name of Nomios [his functions as Karneios and Amyklaios are similar in many points]: in Cyprus this side of his character is probably represented by the Apollo Opaon Melanthios of Amargetti and Kition.

<sup>2</sup> The connection between Apollo and Aphrodite is expressed also in the person of Kinyras, the favorite of Apollo and his rival in skill on the harp, but also high-priest and darling of Aphrodite. Kinyras is *kinnor*, 'the harp.' Apollo and Aphrodite are joined together, *e.g.* at Golgos.

<sup>3</sup> Beside the ἀγάλματα already mentioned I found a cone-shaped object of stone, conceivably a copy of the sacred emblem [similar shaped cones are in Donaldson *Arch. Num.* XXX. from a bronze coin of the British Museum; *ibid.* vi., pediment of the Artemision at Ephesos. In the Papho temple the cone has a different form, *ibid.* xxxi.]: a fragment of a statuette holding a hare [for the hare as sacred to Aphrodite cf. Philo *Her. Erot.* and for the reason Hdt. III. 108. 3]: a horned centaur [several others are in Berlin] and the hand of a statue holding a dove.

with the mutilated inscription  $\begin{smallmatrix} \Theta \text{EO} \\ \Theta \text{ΥΓ} \end{smallmatrix}$  is also of this period.<sup>1</sup> Thus the lower limit may be fixed with comparative certainty at 300 B.C. The higher limit is a little more difficult to determine: but as terra-cottas were found in which the style of the sixth century is still a living tradition, and as there is a considerable number of objects showing no trace of perfected Greek art, while on the other hand neither Assyria nor Egypt has left its impress upon them, we may safely posit 450 B.C. as the date beyond which the age of the finds cannot ascend. Possibly even 450 B.C. is too high a limit. The antiquities found on the site will then all fall well within this period of a century and a half, from 450—300 B.C.: and the attribution of this date best explains the peculiarities of their several styles. An apparent archaism is thus accounted for: freed from servility to the art of a conqueror's court, the Cypriote lacked a stimulus, and with his accustomed sloth fell back, where they were not forgotten, on the lessons of an older training. As yet Hellenic culture was a sealed book. And it is just here that so much of the interest of the Limniti statues lies that we can in them trace the march of the Greek style from its first victory to its ultimate triumph.

H. A. TUBBS.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly we may restore—

$\begin{array}{l} \Theta \text{EO} \Delta \text{ΩΡΟΣΥΠΕΡΤΗΣΕΑΥΤΟΥ} \\ \Theta \text{ΥΓ} \text{ΑΤΡΟΣΘΕΟΔΟΤΗΣ} \\ \text{ΤΩΙΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΜΥΚΛΑΙΩΙ} \\ \text{ΕΥΧΗΝ} \end{array}$

The date given is that assigned it by Mr. Hicks, to whom I submitted a squeeze. As the fragment was obtained from the surface by a villager, and as no further portions were found, nor any place where it might have been set up, its connection with the shrine is not quite certain.

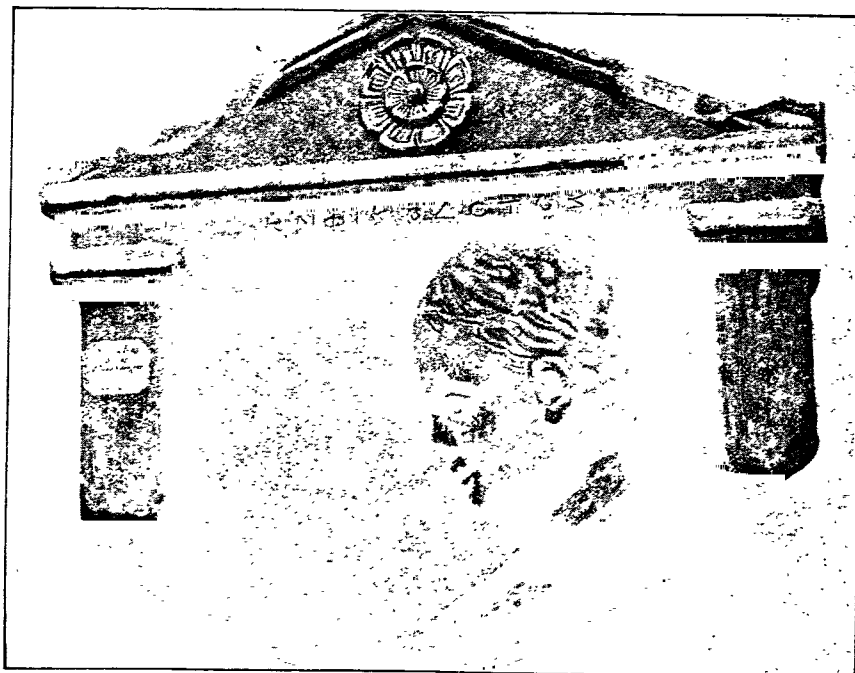


## TWO FOURTH CENTURY CHILDREN'S HEADS.

It is commonly supposed that the treatment of children in the finest period of Greek sculpture is a subject that can be very lightly dismissed. Children, it is said, are not represented in Greek art before Hellenistic times—not represented, that is to say, with any truth to nature or reproduction of the characteristics of childhood. Of course it is never denied that young children appear in statues or reliefs of the fifth or fourth centuries; but when they so appear, they are said to be treated carelessly, conventionally, with no regard to their proper forms or proportions, but just as men on a smaller scale. This assertion is on the whole a correct one. Of careless treatment the infant Dionysus carried by the Hermes of Praxiteles is an example; the child is regarded merely as an accessory, and the execution is in marked contrast to the extreme finish and delicacy of work which we see in the Hermes himself. Even where there is no such contrast in the execution, a conventional treatment may often be seen, as in the case of children on grave-monuments and elsewhere. Nor are one or two children in sculptural groups belonging in origin to the fourth century to be regarded as exceptions (for instance, the infant Plutus carried by the Eirene of Cephisodotus); for these only survive in later copies, and in them the child is modified to suit the requirements of a later period, when children had been studied with as much care as had been spent upon the mature figure by the sculptor of the original group.

So much may be admitted to be true—in almost all known instances where children appear in the fourth century sculpture, they are not treated with truth to nature. But to go farther, and to assert that in the fourth century no children were so treated and therefore that a head of a child treated with truth to nature cannot be of fourth century work, is to make an induction from insufficient instances. In such a case, considerations of style and circumstances must be allowed to outweigh a mere presumption.

These considerations led me in 1888 to ascribe to the fourth century the head of a boy which we discovered in our excavations at Paphos in Cyprus, and published in this *Journal* (1888, pl. x.), nor do I imagine that my view would have been disputed, but for the preconceived opinion just mentioned, that so natural a representation of a child's head could not belong to the



STELA OF CEPHISODOTUS.

fourth century.<sup>1</sup> I am now able to publish, for comparison, another child's head which shows a treatment as true to nature as that of the Paphos head, and even less conventional.<sup>2</sup> And in this case we are, fortunately, not left merely to indications of style, which may always be disputed; but there is an inscription, in fourth century characters, cut upon the stela to which it belongs; and so in this case we may be quite certain that the head is earlier than the Hellenistic period. The common assertion that a child rendered with truth to nature cannot be earlier than the Hellenistic period is thus proved to be false; and if one such child exists, it cannot be impossible that there should be others. Moreover, there is enough resemblance between the two heads here considered to justify us in believing that they belong to the same period. Let us then examine the two heads in detail, and see what we can learn from them as to a class of representations hitherto not supposed to exist—life-like statues of children of the fourth century.

For more than thirty years the chief ornament of the little collection of antiquities from Argos and its neighbourhood has been the stela of Cephisodotus. So long ago as 1855 it was noticed by Bursian as a tomb relief 'von vortrefflicher Arbeit,' and Dr. Milchhöfer describes it as 'sehr lieblich.' But beyond these general expressions of praise, I do not know that it has yet received any description or study; and though all visitors to Argos have admired the smiling boy's head, unique in its kind, it yet remains unpublished in the cases of a local museum.<sup>3</sup> We are now enabled by the kind permission of M. Cabbadias to publish here a reproduction of the work (from a photograph taken by myself); it is of especial interest because of its resemblance to the boy's head from Paphos, already mentioned. These two heads, from their resemblance to one another and their difference from all other representations of a similar subject with which I am acquainted, deserve a detailed study and comparison. Before we pass on to the details, I may simply call attention to the general resemblance in character and expression which cannot, I think, fail to strike any one at first glance. In confirmation I may add that this resemblance has not been noticed only by myself, but that three or four different friends have quite independently, on seeing the photograph of the boy from Paphos, remarked its resemblance to the head they had previously seen at Argos, or else have told me on returning from Argos that they had seen there a head just like the one we had found at Paphos. Thus it can hardly be denied that a resemblance exists, though on a careful examination the differences between the two also force themselves strongly upon one's notice.

<sup>1</sup> I may add that Dr. Waldstein and Professor Furtwangler expressed their opinion that the head from Paphos belonged to the fourth century, before seeing my new evidence from the stela of Cephisodotus.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Bruckner tells me there is another head of similar style on a fourth century stela at Constantinople. Mr. Arthur Evans suggests as

a parallel the gem of Phrygillus of late fifth century work published in the *Jahrbuch d. d. Inst.* 1888, p. 197, Pl. 8, 4. But though the forms of the body are boyish, the head there is, as Professor Furtwangler observes, of a more developed type.

<sup>3</sup> I am glad to learn from M. Cabbadias that he hopes soon to transport it to Athens.

The history of the Paphos head, which is now in the British Museum, has already been recorded. It was found in the excavations of the Cyprus Exploration Fund upon the site of the temple of Aphrodite at old Paphos, in a hole beneath the Roman mosaic pavement of the great south stoa.<sup>1</sup> Other objects were found with it, which were almost without exception of fourth century origin; but, under the circumstances, this did not seem quite conclusive evidence as to date. An examination of the head itself, however, led me to believe it also to be of later fourth century style, and probably of Attic work—it certainly is not Cypriote.

It is not easy to ascertain with equal certainty the history of the stela now in the Argos Museum. The label now upon it, visible in our illustration, reads as follows: Δέρνης, 503. Δῶρον δῆμου Ναυπλίου. Hence it seems a fair inference that there is a record or tradition of its being found at Lerna. Those who saw the stela before this label was attached give varying accounts. Thus Bursian, who saw it in the gymnasium at Nauplia in 1855, describes it as 'aus Argos.' The collection was transferred later on (1878) to the basement of the town-hall (Δημαρχεῖον) at Argos, where it still remains; this may explain the statement of Dr. Milchhöfer<sup>2</sup> that it is 'aus Nauplia.' As it is certain that several things in the collection thus made at Nauplia and transferred to Argos did come from Lerna, we shall probably be justified in assuming the present label to be correct. Among the other antiquities which have belonged to the collections at Nauplia and Argos, the best known is the head from Lerna now in the National Museum at Athens.<sup>3</sup> This has been by some taken for the head of the statue of Demeter Prosymna; but others, as Furtwängler, regard it as rather resembling a head from a grave monument. It certainly seems to resemble far more the heads upon the numerous Attic stelae in the National Museum at Athens than the heads from statues among which it is placed. And another grave stela from Lerna may remove the somewhat fanciful objection raised by Prof. Furtwängler, that one would not expect from the description of Lerna in Pausanias to find any funeral monuments there.

The stela of Cephisodotus is of a very common fourth century form. It is surrounded by an architectural frame, representing two antae bearing a pediment. In the middle of the pediment is a rosette. The whole stela is sixteen inches broad, the height of the head is about six inches. Along the architrave runs the inscription ΚΗΦΙΞΟΔΟΤΟΣ in fourth century characters. The head, which occupies the right half of the preserved portion of the field, faces to the left; it is broken off at the neck. The boy was probably represented as standing, and playing with some pet animal which occupied the lower part of the field on the left. Thus the remarkable laughing expression will find the most natural explanation. The relief is so high that it is possible to obtain a view of the head almost full-face, by looking at the stela from the left (see photograph). Thus it is possible to see the relief in various aspects,

<sup>1</sup> See *J. H. S.* 1888, p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> *Mittheil. d. d. Inst. Athen.* 1883, p. 125,

<sup>2</sup> *Mittheil. d. d. Inst. Athen.* 1879, p. 154.

Pl. X.

almost as if it were a statue in the round : and thus too our two photographs may easily be compared with the two views of the head from Paphos given in this *Journal* (1888, pl. x.). Of course allowance must be made in any such comparison for the differences in technique between sculpture in the round and relief ; after allowing for these, I think enough resemblance will be left to outweigh the difference between the two.

This difference cannot be denied : indeed, though at first glance the resemblance is striking, after a detailed examination one is almost inclined to think that the resemblance was only superficial and the difference essential ; but after all the result of their first impression must be allowed some weight, especially when it is borne out by more general considerations such as the similarity in subject and treatment.

Cephisodotus is represented as a boy a little younger than the boy from Paphos, that is to say, of six or eight years, if the other is eight or ten. This would seem to follow from the difference in the proportions of the head in the two cases. In the Paphos boy the proportions of the three measurements, the top of forehead to the nose, the nose itself, and the nose to the chin, is 8 : 6 : 7 ; in the case of Cephisodotus the same proportion is 7 : 5 : 5 ; or, to put the same fact in another and perhaps a clearer way, the proportion of the portion of the head above the line of the brow to the portion below it is in the Paphos boy 12 : 13, in Cephisodotus 12 : 11.<sup>1</sup> Now it is a well-known fact that in a new-born child the part above the brow is greater than the part below, while in a fully developed man the part below exceeds the part above. It appears, however, that the change from the one to the other proportion is not a gradual one, spread over all the years of boyhood. According to Froriep (*Anatomic für Künstler*, p. 93), the two parts become equal at the end of the second year, and remain so during the whole period of childhood. Only in the fourteenth year does the lower part begin to preponderate, the proportion then being 11 : 12 (in a full-grown man it is 11 : 13). Thus the proportion seems to remain constant between the ages of two and fourteen, and in the case of two boys who are between those ages but not very near to either limit, one would not now expect to see a preponderance of the upper or lower part of the head according to younger or older state of development. It is not, however, certain that the circumstances of development in Greece were identical with those upon which modern statistics are based ; nor is it likely that anthropometric study had taught the artist in the fourth century those facts that he now may learn from any hand-book. The study of proportion had of course already been carried to great precision by such artists as Polyclitus and Euphranor ; but this, so far as we know, concerned only the proportions of the mature figure, and there is no reason to suppose that a similar study was given to the process and stages of development in childhood. We know, indeed, that even the forms and proportions of children were not accurately represented in early times, but were merely

<sup>1</sup> In the Dionysus of Praxiteles the lower part is if anything larger than the upper—a strange inversion for so young a child, and a

proof how little attention the artist gave to this part of the group.

deduced with some modifications from those of the mature figure. So important a characteristic as the greater size of the upper part of the head in an infant would be sure to strike an artist who in this matter worked from observation, without the help of statistics or theories of proportion; from this observation, and from his knowledge that the lower part was the greater in a man, he would very naturally draw the inference that the proportion gradually changed through all the stages of development; and thus we may safely infer the age of the boy he intended to represent from the proportion of the part of the head above the brow to that below it, even though students of anthropometry may tell us that such an inference would not be a safe one in reality for judging the age of a child.

It is almost a commonplace among writers on Greek Art that sculptors of the best period did not render the forms of children with truth to nature, but represented them 'like smaller men.' A natural representation of their rounded forms and infantile proportions seems to have been first attempted in Hellenistic times, and may be seen in the numerous *genre* statues of children that begin to appear in the third century, and among which the boy with a goose of Boethus is the best known. The two heads with which we are now concerned have little or nothing in common with this class of *genre* representations. It is very unfortunate that we have not in either case any part of the body left, but from the treatment of the face, and more especially from that of the neck, it is easy to see what the body must have been like; it is impossible to imagine these heads set upon fat chubby bodies like those of the children in Hellenistic art; and if the amount of neck that remains in the case of our two boys be contrasted with the neck or rather absence of neck in works like the boy with the goose of Boethus or the little silver statuette of a similar subject in the British Museum (published in this *Journal* 1885, p. 1), the contrast is obvious. Yet Cephisodotus, at least, is not to be considered as much older than either of these boys. Thus we are brought back again to the question—How are we to explain the resemblance between the head from Paphos and that of Cephisodotus, and their contrast to all other representations of children that have come down to us from Greek art?

The answer is, I think, simple enough; these two heads represent, for us, the way in which a Greek artist of the fourth century represented a young boy; while almost all other representations of children belong to a later period, when young children were a common subject for artistic representation, and when consequently the proportions and characteristics of young children must have formed a regular part of the elementary teaching of an artist. In the fourth century, on the other hand, though boys of fourteen or fifteen were often represented, especially as Eros or similar divinities, young children were but rarely chosen as a subject—hardly ever indeed, from the artist's choice. In the Hermes and Dionysus of Praxiteles, for instance, the child is treated as an accessory; and on grave stelae, if a young boy appears, he is usually in a subordinate position, and no very great care is expended upon his representation. With our two heads the case is quite

different. The artist has evidently made a faithful attempt to render the forms and proportions of a child of a certain age; and it is very interesting to notice how far his own observation has enabled him to render truthfully a subject which in his day was usually treated in a conventional manner.

Of the proportion of the two heads we have already spoken, and of the attempt which is evident in them to render the change which takes place between infancy and maturity. In all the features we can also clearly see a wish to represent the forms of a young boy, so far as was possible to the artist, working from observation and not from training; this comes out more conspicuously in the head of Cephisodotus, when compared with the maturer forms of the Paphos boy. The forehead of Cephisodotus is unformed and the skull beneath seems not yet joined; his eyes are wide open, and have not yet any concentration or definition of glance; they thus may be contrasted with the half-shut eyes and dreamy expression of the Paphos boy; his nose, though unfortunately broken, seems to have been shapeless and undeveloped; and the chin also is more flabby and shows less the form of the bone beneath. But it is in the rendering of the mouth and cheeks, and in the expression thereby produced, that we see most clearly both the resemblance and the contrast between the two heads. There is a smile in both cases; but in Cephisodotus the muscles and the flesh hang loose and lack definition; while in the Paphos boy, though the working of the marble is exquisitely soft, the forms are clear and the muscles appear almost consciously set. The ear, strangely enough, is in the case of Cephisodotus like that of a grown man—almost the sole instance of conventional treatment in the head. The hair in both cases is short—a remarkable coincidence; for short hair in so young children is rarely to be seen in Greek art; but the treatment is different in the two cases, though in both the hair lies flat along the head. In Cephisodotus it is treated freely in wavy lines, in a style which cannot be later than the fourth century, while in the Paphos boy it is divided into a set of short curved locks.<sup>1</sup>

It is however by the expression and by the general impression produced by the two heads that they are distinguished both from other works and from each other. The wish to render the lively expression of childhood with a life-like truth to nature has led in both cases to a smile—in Cephisodotus purely unconventional, and imitated directly from the artist's observation of nature; in the Paphos boy more conventional, but still based upon observation, though modified by the artist's training in other types. The result is in the one case an innocent and unconscious expression, but perhaps exaggerated in the upward curve of the lips; in the other case a half-conscious set smile. It is curious that these are two varieties of expression that also mark the transitional period from archaic to the finest art; and though our two heads are

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Waldstein has remarked to me that, while the treatment above the forehead shows the character seen sometimes at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the Helle-

nistic age, that on the top and back of the head shows a rough and sketchy blocking out such as is only seen in fourth century work.

more than a century later, yet we must remember that children are still unfamiliar subjects in sculpture and that consequently we may in them expect to see characteristics such as mark the period of successful experiment. It is much to be regretted that when children came to be favourite subjects for representation in Hellenistic art, the type was developed along a different line, and consequently that these two fourth century heads remain isolated and without succession.

A final question cannot be avoided. Are we to believe that there is any artistic connexion, of school or otherwise, between these two heads from Lerna and from Paphos? In discussing the style of the Paphos boy in this *Journal* (1888, p. 219), I expressed the opinion which I still believe to be correct, that it shows the characteristics of the Attic school of marble sculpture, such as they were in the late part of the fourth century, after the days of Praxiteles. If we are then to believe there is any connexion between the two, it must be by means of Attic influence. Nor is such influence at Lerna very improbable. On the other hand, it is hard to detect in the head of Cephisodotus any resemblance to the Argive style, such as we might naturally have expected. One is tempted to quote the name as Attic, from its artistic associations; but there was an Argive as well as an Attic Cephisus, and so a child might as well bear the name Cephisodotus in the one as the other district. But other traces of Attic influence are known at Lerna. For instance, the head now in the Central Museum, and by some identified as Demeter Prosymna, resembles, as has already been said, many of the heads upon Attic stelae; and thus it, as well as the head of Cephisodotus, may belong to a stela of Attic type. And, again, if we include the whole Argive region, Prof. Furtwängler is unquestionably right in recognizing Attic influence in some fragmentary figures with floating drapery from the Heraeum, which also resemble those from Epidauros. However this may be, we have enough examples of Attic influence even near the centres of Peloponnesian art in the fourth century for one more instance not to surprise us. And so we may ascribe to the Attic school of the fourth century what is common to the boys from Paphos and from Lerna, while the difference in their age and in the intention of the artist, as well as local circumstances, will amply suffice to explain the differences between the two. We must remember also that on the grave stela we may expect a portrait, though hardly with individual treatment at such a period: while the Paphos boy is likely to be an ideal figure, perhaps Eros, and the more conventional treatment is in favour of such a view.

We have, then, gained a new episode to add to our history of art in the fourth century. We knew already that in the time of Praxiteles boys of fourteen or fifteen were often represented. This is an age at which the proportions of maturity are already approached, so that no new canon or study is required, while the softness of youth still gives the utmost scope to the delicate treatment of marble for which the Attic school of this period was most famous. We also knew that during and after the Hellenistic period young children were frequently represented especially in *genre* groups and in decora-



tion reliefs like those on sarcophagi,<sup>1</sup> and that in these the short figures and chubby proportions of children were truthfully represented and in later times even exaggerated. But it is new to us to find young children in Greek art neither conventionally assimilated to fully-grown men, only smaller in size, nor with the roundness of infancy such as we are used to see in later 'Cupids,' but showing a treatment different from either of these. In the two examples which we have been considering the artist has endeavoured to render the expression and character of childhood without departing altogether from the sculptural traditions and dignity of monumental art; thus we see a type produced which is worthy of the fourth century, and which adds one more to the varied attainments of the sculptors of the period.

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<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, the sarcophagi from Patras and Sparta, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, pp. 1552—3.

## CERAMUS (Κέραμος) AND ITS INSCRIPTIONS.

MR. W. R. PATON, who is very well acquainted with the Gulf of Cos, has been good enough to send me some impressions and copies which he recently made of inscriptions at Keramo, the site of the ancient Ceramus. So few are the documents hitherto published from this town, that I readily consented to edit these copies for the *Journal*, the more so because I had been led to study the history of Caria somewhat minutely in connexion with another town of this region, Iasos.<sup>1</sup> It happens also that one of the very few instances where Ceramus is named, even in inscriptions, is in a decree of Ephesus, discovered by Mr. Wood and now in the British Museum, which I have recently prepared for the press.<sup>2</sup> We shall have occasion to refer to it presently.

Before proceeding to examine the inscriptions, I am glad to transcribe an account of the neighbourhood of Ceramus which I begged Mr. Paton to draw up, knowing well how interesting such particulars are to less-travelled students of Greek antiquities.

‘Ceramus is situated on the N. shore of the Gulf of Cos. The site has been described by Lieut. Smith (Newton, *Halicarnassus* etc. vol. ii. p. 627). The physical features of the north and south shores of the *inner* Gulf of Cos are widely different. The south shore is formed by the peninsula which separates this gulf from the Lycian Sea. Here, from Port Giova in the innermost recess of the gulf, to the Dorian Isthmus, extends a chain of wonderful harbours, which, as the country is unproductive and uninhabited, tempt chance visitors from harbourless Greek islands to be sceptical as to the wisdom of Providence. On the south side of this same peninsula there lies the famous harbour of Marmarice, which has the honour of occasionally sheltering our fleets, and of being, in consequence, connected with Smyrna by telegraph. The sterility of this region is (it is a comfort to think) no new thing. There are singularly few traces of what may be called, for this unrecorded land, prehistoric inhabitants. The only Hellenic, or quasi-Hellenic town, of any importance was Cedrae, and this was on an island near the coast.<sup>3</sup> Callipolis (now called Gelepol by the Turks) was situated in an

<sup>1</sup> See my paper on Iasos in an earlier number of the *Hellenic Journal*, viii. (1887) p. 85; compare *ibid.* ix. (1888) p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Wood, *Ephesus*, ‘Inscriptions from the City and Suburbs,’ No. 16. It will form No. cccclvii. in the forthcoming Part iii. of the *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*. The name [Κ]έραμοι was not recognized or read

by the earlier editor.

<sup>3</sup> The island is called by the Greeks Νησι τῆς Παναγίας and by the Turks Seiroglou: the town was identified as the ancient Κεδραῖ by M.M. Diehl and Cousin by means of an inscription found there (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* x. 1886, p. 426).

exceptionally fertile little valley, but I found nothing there which spoke of a past. At Seyout, the next harbour to the W., is a well preserved fortress, probably dating from the period of Rhodian dominion. There is another smaller fortress of the same period on the top of the Altin Sivrisi (Golden Peak), a mountain 1500 feet high between Seyout and Marmarice. I am sure that there can be nothing else very remarkable in the neighbourhood, because I was everywhere counselled to ascend this Altin Sivrisi where there were marble statues and inscriptions galore. I eventually did so with the greatest difficulty on a very hot day, and when in rags and tatters I reached the summit, I suggested to my guide, a celebrated hunter of the district,<sup>1</sup> that he had not chosen the least trying route. It was only then I discovered that this was his first ascent, and I concluded that all these desirable things were to be found at the top of the Altin Sivrisi for the same reason that so many even more desirable things are to be found in other places—because no one had ever been there.'

'At present the only interesting, if not valuable, product of this district is the styrax-tree (*styrax officinale*), which grows in great abundance in the beds of streams. It resembles the plane-tree, but seemingly never attains a great size. The fragrant sap, used by the Turks as incense, stinks in the nostrils of orthodox oriental Christians.'

'The northern shore of the Gulf is formed by what seem to be a range of lofty mountains, closely fringed by the sea. It is only when we climb them that we find that they are but the edges of a great plateau, that we are really in Asia, and that the Mediterranean with its odour of the West is, like ourselves, an intruder here. No great river penetrates this plateau to discharge itself into the Gulf of Cos. The water from the upland plains, such as that of Moughla, finds its escape underground. Near Ceramus, west of the old town, and at the head of the gulf near the ancient Idyma,<sup>2</sup> abundant brackish springs issue from the foot of the mountains and find their shortest road to the sea. At Idyma this phenomenon is very remarkable. A series of such springs extending about two miles from E. to W. unite to form a river so deep, that it is possible to ascend it for a considerable distance in a boat. These springs are all of them, like those of Ceramus, slightly salt; but the water is drinkable, and watercress and celery thrive in them and form an excellent salad. The superfluous water of winter does not find room to escape by these underground channels, and in some places torrents have cut their way through the plateau.'

'It is to the largest of these streams that the plain of Ceramus owes, I suppose, its origin. The river-bed was quite dry when I was there in October; but I was told that its valley, which is of considerable breadth, is thirty or forty miles in length. Its sources must be in the high mountains near Eski-Hissar (Stratonicea). This is the longest valley which descends

<sup>1</sup> I subsequently saw him annihilate a partridge while it was drinking: I ate the fragments of this bird, and am grateful to him.

<sup>2</sup> Identified with the modern Giova by MM.

Diehl and Cousin, on the strength of an inscription found there (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* x. p. 429): Judeich speaks more doubtfully (*Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 338, note).

to the gulf of Cos on the north, and the plain of Ceramus is the largest plain on the northern shore. There is no harbour, and boats cannot anchor here with a high westerly sea. But the bay of Akbuk, which could easily be reached with a westerly wind, affords sufficient protection. The plain has great capabilities of cultivation. At present it is, to a large extent, rough pasture-land. The climate must always have been bad; the heat in summer, owing to the high overhanging mountains on the N. which exclude the North-wind and reduplicate the sun, is very oppressive. The Turkish Agas, to whom the land belongs, reside in a village on the hills; the inhabitants of the modern village of Keramo are their shepherds and labourers. This village occupies a small portion of the site of the ancient town. It is situated on the edge of the mountain and just to the E. of the opening of the river-valley. The ruins which now exist are very extensive, and are chiefly of the late Roman and Byzantine periods. Ceramus was the seat of a Bishop, and one of the most notable ruins is that of a very large church: most of the inscriptions come from here. The only existing Hellenic remains of importance are the city-walls, remarkable as having a polygonal substructure of limestone and superimposed rectangular blocks of pudding-stone (see Lieut. Smith's *Report*, p. 628). Water was brought to the town by an aqueduct which runs along the E. side of the river-valley and (so I was told) comes from far. The arches which span side-valleys are in several places well preserved, and this aqueduct was the pleasantest companion I had when I left Ceramus and went up the valley for a few miles, before turning eastward on my road to Moughla.<sup>1</sup> Coins of Ceramus are extremely rare; and I have never met with them in the market. I only procured three bronze autonomous coins on the spot. One has a magistrate's name *Λέων*, a common name also at Stratonicea: on another I think I read *Ἱερογένης*.

If we are inclined to wonder why the Greeks founded a settlement in so unpromising a spot, we should bear in mind the great fertility of the land: no doubt diligent husbandry here, as in other regions of the ancient world, not only brought a rich return to the cultivator, but also diminished the unhealthiness of the climate. Lieut. Smith<sup>2</sup> says: 'The valley is covered with impenetrable thickets, and is very unhealthy. The ground, when it is cultivated, is very fertile; but I saw large crops of ripe grain standing uncut for want of labourers.' It is to be observed, however, that the towns along even the north shore of this gulf were few and far between, and these were of no great consequence. Strabo's words are (xiv. 656): *εἶτα μετὰ Κνίδου Κέραμος καὶ Βάργασα πολίχνια ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης. Εἰθ' Ἀλικαρνασός κ.τ.λ.*<sup>3</sup> In other words, Ceramus was a second-rate town, not to be compared with its distinguished neighbours Halicarnassus and Cnidus. Yet it appears to have been the most important town within the Gulf of Cos, to which it gave its name

<sup>1</sup> A brief note of this journey from Ceramus to Moughla will be found printed in the *Classical Review* of 1888, p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> Newton's *Halicarnassus*, &c., ii. p. 631.

<sup>3</sup> The site of Bargasas is still unknown, if

Giova is rightly identified with Idyma: see note 5 *ante*. The words of Strabo would lead one to seek for Bargasas between Ceramus and Halicarnassus. Pliny's geography of this region (v. 29) seems confused and faulty.

ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος from early times, as we learn from Herodotus i. 174 (ἐούσης τε πάσης τῆς Κνιδίας πλὴν ὀλίγης περιρρόου· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορῇν ἄνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργει κ.τ.λ.).<sup>1</sup> But the surest measure of its importance may be obtained from the tribute-lists of the Athenian Confederacy. These reveal that while Cnidus was assessed at 3 talents which were afterwards raised to 5 talents, and Halicarnassus (not yet refounded by Mausolus) at  $1\frac{2}{3}$  talents, the assessment of Ceramus was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  talents. It thus stands distinctly above Cedrae, whose tribute was  $\frac{1}{2}$  talent, and Idyma which seems to have paid  $\frac{2}{3}$  talent. See Böckh-Fränkel, *Staatsh.* ii. pp. 362, 452; Köhler, *Urkunden und Untersuchungen*, pp. 183 foll.

Very little is known of the history of Ceramus. Of written record there is absolutely nothing. A few fragmentary inscriptions and a very few coins, none earlier than the second century B.C., afford a glimmer of light which only makes the darkness visible.<sup>2</sup> For the illustration, therefore, of the following inscriptions we have no help but to fall back upon the general history of Caria, the various vicissitudes of which the town of Ceramus inevitably shared. This chequered history I have already traced with sufficient care in a previous number of the *Journal*.<sup>3</sup> None of the inscriptions from Ceramus appear to be earlier than the defeat of Antiochus at Magnesia B.C. 190, upon which the Roman senate handed over Lycia and Caria to the government of Rhodes. The Rhodians had long enjoyed possession of the strip of territory on the opposite mainland—the Rhodian Peraea: and this new assignment was but an extension of the influence they already enjoyed in Caria. It lasted, however, only twenty years. At the close of the war with Perseus, B.C. 168, the senate, being bent on humbling Rhodes, deprived her of those possessions on the mainland which had been assigned her in B.C. 189. Caria was declared to be free. We are to understand this declaration as applying not to the towns of the Peraea to which Rhodes had a prescriptive title, but to her dominion over the rest of Caria and Lycia, which rested only upon the decree of the senate.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly Caria in general and her cities enjoyed a brief period of autonomy for the next thirty-five years until the whole of Caria, and therefore Ceramus along with it, was merged in the Roman Province of Asia, B.C. 133.

It is to this period of autonomy, B.C. 168—133, that we may in all probability assign the earlier of the extant coins of Ceramus,<sup>5</sup> as well as the first of Mr Paton's inscriptions. Nos. 2 and 3 belong likewise to about the second century B.C., but their subject is religious, and they contain nothing to determine their date more closely. The same may be said of another

<sup>1</sup> In Xen. *Hist.* i. 4, 8: Κεραμικὸν κόλπον, *ibid.* ii. 1 § 15: Κεράμειον κόλπον, if the texts are right.

<sup>2</sup> See Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 522.

<sup>3</sup> In connexion with Iasos; *Hellenic Journal*, viii. (1887), p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> Polyb. xxx. 5: κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξέβαλε δόγμα διότι δεῖ Κάριας καὶ

Λυκίας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι πάντας, ὅσους προσέειμε Ῥοδίοις μετὰ τὸν Ἀντιοχικὸν πόλεμον. *Ibid.* xxxi. 7: ἀλλ' Ἰῶας, ἔφη, ταῦτα μὲν ἔχει λόγον· καὶ γὰρ ἐδώκαθ' ὑμεῖς αὐτὰ τῷ δήμῳ κ.τ.λ.

<sup>5</sup> There are only eight coins of Ceramos in the British Museum; so rare are they. Only four contain magistrates' names.

document which relates to the religious observances of Ceramus. It is a list of deputies (*θεωροί*) sent from Ceramus to take part in the festival of the Cabiri at Samothrace, and was discovered by Prof. Conze in that island (*Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres*, p. 70); it runs thus:—

Ἐπὶ βασιλέως Πυθίωνος τοῦ [δεῖνος  
 Κεραμητῶν θεωροί,  
 Μύσται εὐσεβεῖς.  
 Ἱεροκλῆς Δημητρίου τοῦ Μο.....  
 5 Ἀριστομένης Ἀριστομένους  
 κα]θ' ὑποεσίαν δὲ Δωροθέου.

I incline to assign this list to the third century B.C. rather than the second. Two inscriptions copied by Captain Spratt at Keramo to be mentioned presently, and an inscription from Stratonicea published in the *Bulletin* (ix. 1885, p. 437), form the only other materials available for the illustration of the history of the town or to elucidate these new inscriptions which we will now proceed to examine.

One word as to the gentile adjective of this town. The name of the town is *Κέραμος*, and is so given not only by Strabo *l.c.*, Pausanias (vi. 13 § 2: *ἐκ Κεράμου τῆς ἐν τῇ Καρίᾳ*), and other writers, but also once in the Attic tribute-lists (*C.I.A.* i. 229: where the editors restore *Κέρ]αμ[ο]ς*). The gentile adjective in the tribute-lists is usually *Κεράμιοι*, but also in two places *Κεραμῆς* (Böckh-Fränkel, *Staatsh.* ii. p. 452). In Wood's Ephesian inscription the form is *Κεράμιοι*, but Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Ἀγγιναι* gives *Κεραμήτης*, as also Strabo, xiv. 660. This also occurs in Conze's Samothracian list, and on the coins (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 522, who gives also from the coins *ΚΕΡΑΜΙΕΩΝ* and *ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ*<sup>1</sup>).

## 1.

'Bluish stone, found at Keramo.' From Mr. Paton's copy and a good impression. The marble is evidently incomplete at the top and the bottom: it is somewhat injured on the right edge, and a very little on the left. The readings are quite certain. Height (as measured by impression), 16½ in.; width 2 ft. 6 in.

<sup>1</sup> [I suspect that *ΚΕΡΑΜΙ ΕΩΝ* (Mionnet, *Supp.* No. 207) should be read *ΚΕΡΑΜΙ ΛΕΩΝ*: the *ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ* of the other coin is also a magistrate's name, see No. 11 *post*, and we should read *ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ* W. R. P.]



- § 1. . . . . ια καλο . . . . . ω . . . . .  
 . . . . . αν π . . . . . ἡδυπαθεῖ, ἐκτενῇ καὶ παρόντων . . . . . ἡν ἑαυτὸν παρῆχεν ἐν τοῖς ἀν-  
 5 αγκαιο]τάτοις καιροῖς οὔτε κίνδυνον οὔτε κακοπαθίαν ὑφορώμενος περὶ πλείστου δὲ ποιούμ[εν-  
 ος τ]ὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις δόξαν—§ 2. ἔν τε τῷ τῆς συνπολιτείας χρόνῳ διετέλει πάντα κα[ὶ  
 λέ]γων καὶ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφορούντων, πᾶντι τῷ πλήθει τῆς ἰδίας εὐνοίας τὰς κρατ[ίς-  
 10 τας] ἀποδείξει ποιούμενος ἰδίᾳ τε τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν προηρῶν-  
 το] προσεφέρετο φιλοστόργως—§ 3. μετὰ τε ταῦτα ἐν δυσχερεὶ καταστάσει γενομένου τοῦ πο-  
 λ]ιτείας οὐ καταπλῆρεις τὴν τῶν ἀντάσιν πολὺ βεβαιότεραν ἐπειράτο τὴν πρὸς τὸ  
 10 πλῆθος αὔξειν εὐνοίαν γρησῶς καὶ ἀληθινῶς ἅπαντα καὶ λέγων καὶ πρῶτον, διὸ [καὶ  
 κατὰ τὸ κάλλιστον ἀντιλαμβανόμενον αὐτὸν συνέ[β]η τῆς αὐτῆς τύχης τῷ δῆ[μῳ]  
 π[ερ]ιστάσεως, ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολιτῶν παρακληθεὶς γενναίως ὑποστήναι [τὰ ὑπ-  
 15 ἀν]τηθέντα, πάντα δεύτερα τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν θέμενος τοῦ κοινῇ συνφέρειντος,  
 οὐθενὸς ἀφίστατο τῶν πρὸς τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν διατεινόντων τοῖς πολίταις, [καὶ τοῦ  
 δῆμου κρίναντος ἀναγκαιοσύνην εἶναι ἑαυτῷ τὴν πρὸς Ῥοδίου συμμαχίαν] αἶρε-  
 15 θείς πρῶτον ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν προθύμως, καὶ προσεδρεύσας ἐπιμελ[ῶς] ἐπὶ  
 χρόνον πλείονα παρυστήσατο μετὰ τῶν συνεπρεσβυτῶν Ῥοδίου ποιήσ[ασθαι  
 τῇ]ν συμμαχίαν, δι' ἧς συνεβέβηκεν οὐ μόνον τοῖς πολίταις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ὑπ[άρ]χειν  
 20 εἰς] τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν—§ 4. πάλιν τ[ε] πρὸς Ἡ-  
 ρακλ[ε]ώτας ὑποστάλεις πρῶτον ἐποίησατο τὴν δικαιοσύνην μετὰ [τῶν συνεπρεσ-  
 βυτῶν] ἐνδόξως εἰς τὸ μήτε κατὰ κοινὸν μήτε [κ]ατ' ἰδίαν μηθεῖν[α] αὐτῷ ἔχειν  
 20 ἀντιστ[ή]ναι, πολλὰς καὶ ψευδεῖς κατηγορίας πο[ιε]ῖσθαι τινῶν, ἀξίως δι-  
 αλεξιμέν[ος] τῶν ἐξαποστειλάντων σὺν . . . . .  
 . . . . . ἀ]λλὰ καὶ πεπολιτευμένους ἐν α . . . . .  
 . . . . . δ]ιὰ παντὸς ὑπάρχειν. . . . .



A few words first in respect of the readings. Line 1: ΛΑΟ I give from Paton's copy: I cannot read them on the impression. Line 2: ἡδυναθεῖ is probable, but the letters are omitted in Paton's copy, and the impression suggests them but faintly. Line 3: with οὔτε κακοπαθίαν ὑφορώμενος compare πᾶσαν [ἀν]α[σχ]όμενοι κακοπαθίαν, said of foreign dicasts in *C.I.G.* ii. *Addenda*, No. 2561b, line 29. Lines 6—7: ΠΡΟΗΡΟΥ are perfectly plain. We should expect τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν (*sc.* πραγμάτων) προηρεῖτο προσφερόμενος φιλοστόργως. Line 8: ἀνάτασις is a word that smacks of Polybius, 'intensity,' 'violence'; περίστασις, in line 11, belongs to the same age. Lines 11—12 [τὰ ὑπ']|αντηθέντα is a rather unusual form, but it is almost certainly right.

We have here part of a decree of Ceramus according honours to a citizen of the town in return for signal services. The heading is lost, and with it the name of this benefactor; lost also is the conclusion which specified the honours he was to receive. The portion which remains is occupied with a recital of the man's career, four different occasions being mentioned in which he had rendered conspicuous service. The document therefore belongs to a class of decrees which became common in the third and later centuries B.C., a typical example being the Athenian decree in honour of Phaedrus and his son of the same name, *C.I.A.* ii. 381 (date about B.C. 272; see my *Manual*, No. 167).

I place the decree shortly after B.C. 168, when the cities of Caria were liberated from Rhodian control. The sudden grant of autonomy seems to have involved Ceramus in a conflict of factions. The rival parties, oligarchical and democratic, which had been kept in check by the rule of Rhodes, were now free to struggle for the mastery in the town, and as the man honoured in this decree evidently took the democratic side, we may infer that the victory ultimately rested with the popular party (see especially lines 5, 9, 10).

§ 1: lines 1—4. This may refer to the troublous times immediately succeeding the defeat of Antiochus at Magnesia, B.C. 190, when Manlius and the Commission of Ten were sent to Asia and in 189 handed over Caria to the dominion of Rhodes.

§ 2: lines 4—7. A second chapter in his career is described. He had displayed activity as a public man and as a democratic leader (τῷ πλήθει line 5) 'in the days of the league,' ἐν τῷ τῆς συνπολιτείας χρόνῳ. What is the league, and what is the time referred to?

We need not hesitate to identify this συνπολιτεία with the League of Carian townships which met yearly at the temple of Ζεὺς Χρυσαιορεὺς near Stratonicea. It is thus described by Strabo (xiv. p. 660), and his words have an especial bearing upon the status of Ceramus: Στρατονικεῖα δ' ἐστὶ κατοικία Μακεδόνων ἐκοσμήθη δὲ καὶ αὕτη κατασκευαῖς πολυτελέσιν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων. ἐστὶ δ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Στρατονικέων δύο ἱερά, ἐν μὲν Λαγίνουσιν<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laina (Λάγυνα) 'is situated about two hours north by west from Eski Hissar (Stratonicea)' writes Sir C. Newton, *Halicarnassus*, &c., p. 554.

τὸ τῆς Ἑκάτης ἐπιφανέστατον πανηγύρεις μεγάλας συνάγον κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τοῦ Χρυσσαορέως Διὸς κοινὸν ἀπάντων Καρῶν, εἰς δὲ συνίασι θύοντές τε καὶ βουλευσόμενοι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν· καλεῖται δὲ τὸ σύστημα αὐτῶν Χρυσσαορέων, συνεστηκὸς ἐκ κωμῶν· οἱ δὲ πλείστας παρεχόμενοι κώμας προέχουσι τῇ ψήφῳ, καθάπερ Κεραμισταί· καὶ Στρατονικεῖς δὲ τοῦ συστήματος μετέχουσιν οὐκ ὄντες τοῦ Καρικοῦ γένους, ἀλλ' ὅτι κώμας ἔχουσι τοῦ Χρυσσαορικοῦ συστήματος. We must not indeed assume that the circumstances of this Chrysaorian League were in all points the same at the beginning of the second century B.C. as in the latter part of the first century when Strabo described it. But the main conditions remained unchanged. Ever since the first planting of the Doric colonies along the coast, the Carian natives had found themselves thrust out of the way; they retired into the interior of the country establishing themselves in fortresses among the hills, or dwelling in *κῶμαι*, townships. These *κῶμαι* are frequently mentioned in connexion with Carian history; they are grouped into cantons which found their respective centres in one or other of the old native sanctuaries (see Newton, *l.c.* p. 14). It was inevitable that, as the Hellenic cities became more numerous and powerful, the Carian townships and cantons became mere dependencies of the greater cities, precisely as Strabo points out (*l.c.*) in the case of Stratonicea. Strabo indeed speaks as if the *Χρυσσαορικὸν σύστημα* was in his day the only confederation in Caria: and this no doubt was practically the case, since Sulla rewarded Stratonicea with exceptional privileges for its loyalty to Rome in the Mithridatic War.<sup>1</sup> But Herodotus knows nothing of this league of Chrysaoris (see St. Byz. *s.v.*); he speaks only of Mylasa as a national and religious centre (i. 171): ἀποδεικνύσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μύσοισι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι, ὡς κασιγνήτοισι ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί...τούτοις μὲν δὴ μέτεστι ὅσοι δὲ, ἔόντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος, ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσί ἐγένοντο, τούτοις δὲ οὐ μέτα. Only sixty stadia from Mylasa, and connected with it by a sacred way, was Labranda, with another aboriginal shrine of Zeus Stratios,<sup>2</sup> which is also noticed by Herodotus (v. 119): Καρῶν...οἱ διαφυγόντες κατεκλήθησαν ἐς Λάβρανδα, ἐς Διὸς Στρατίου ἱρὸν μέγα τε καὶ ἅγιον ἄλσος πλατανίστων. μῦνοι δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Κᾱρές εἰσι οὐ Διὶ Στρατίῳ θυσίας ἀνάγουσι. We must conclude therefore that in early days Mylasa was the chief religious and national centre of the native Carians, and that the sanctuary and gathering at Chrysaoris, if they existed (as is likely), were merely local and possessed no political significance. But when Hecatomnus, the father of Mausolus, transferred his seat of government from Mylasa to Halicarnassus, the influence of Mylasa suffered a partial eclipse, which was made more complete by the founding of Stratonicea by the Syrian king and the especial favour shown to it by the Romans under Sulla. Not that Mylasa ever ceased to be an important town. It stood at the junction of several great roads and thrived under Roman rule: its ancient sanctuaries still commanded the veneration of Caria. The

<sup>1</sup> See the important *Senatusconsultum* inscribed at Lagina (*Bulletin*, 1885, ix. p. 437).

<sup>2</sup> Newton, *l.c.* pp. 33, 615.

symbol of Zeus Labrandeus was the double axe, which appears not only on the coins of Mausolus and his dynasty, but also of a number of Carian towns; and the adoption of this symbol was an acknowledgment of a connexion with Mylasa and Labranda. But without doubt in the second and first centuries B.C. Mylasa had a serious rival in Stratonicea, and in the time of Strabo the league of *κῶμαι* which met at Chrysaorium near Stratonicea was the only Carian league of any political importance.

And now to return to our inscription. At the time of this decree the League of the Chrysaorium (*συνπολιτεία*), which had for some time been a rival of the League of Labranda, had been disbanded; it is spoken of as a thing of the past (*ἐν τῷ τῆς συνπολιτείας χρόνῳ*, line 4). What had dissolved it? No more probable course could be found than the freedom granted to Caria in 168. 'Freedom' in Greece too surely meant disintegration, and the breaking up of ties which kept the cities together. I imagine that under the Rhodian rule the cantons of Carian *κῶμαι* had met at the respective centre of each league, the Chrysaorium, Labranda, and others perhaps as well. Stratonicea was the especial property of Rhodes, and paid a heavy tribute to the sovereign island<sup>1</sup>; we may be sure therefore that Stratonicea would be safeguarded by the Rhodians in full authority over the *κῶμαι* pertaining to its territory. At a later date (B.C. 81, see the Sullan *Senatusconsultum* already quoted) Stratonicea claimed even Ceramus as one of its *κῶμαι*. But we are not sure that the claim was granted; if it was, the subjection of Ceramus was not of long duration. In Strabo's time, and for centuries after, it was no inconsiderable member of the Carian league of cities. Under the Rhodian dominion (B.C. 189—168) Ceramus and its associated *κῶμαι* formed one of the cantons of the Chrysaorian *σύστημα* or *συνπολιτεία*, although much inferior in influence to Stratonicea. During this period the citizen honoured by this decree had done good service as a political leader of democratic sympathies (lines 5—7).

§ 3: lines 7—18. A third stage of the benefactor's career began with the granting of freedom to Caria and the break-up of the League. The 'community' (*πολίτευμα*) of Ceramus was at once involved in confusion, the democratic and oligarchic party confronting each other. Our hero took more openly the part of a popular leader (line 8), and in the political revolution that ensued he shared the danger and the victory of the democrats (lines 10—11). The exiled aristocrats would probably look towards Rome for help; it was equally natural, now that Rhodes was out of favour with Rome, that the democrats should wish to strengthen themselves by an understanding with Rhodes (line 14). But seeing that Rhodes had lately been ousted by Rome from Caria, it was a delicate task to ask the Rhodians to accede to an alliance which might seem to humble her pride and also to expose her to the suspicion of Rome. This task however our hero undertook, and achieved (lines 15—16). The relations of Ceramus with Rhodes are further illustrated by the Ephesian decree discovered by Wood (*l.c.*); it begins thus:—

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, xxxi. 7.

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ  
 Ξενοκρίτος Ἀριστέως εἶπεν· Ἐπειδὴ  
 Φίλων Διονύσιος Ἱεροκλῆς Μένιππο[ς  
 Κ]εράμιοι διατρίβοντες ἐν Ῥόδῳ πᾶσα[ν  
 εὖνοιαν καὶ χρεῖαν παρεχόμενοι δια-  
 τελοῦσιν καὶ κοινῇ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ  
 τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τῷ πολιτῶν καὶ  
 ὅτ]αν αὐτοὺς ἕκαστος παρακαλῇ.—

then follows a grant of citizenship. The four men of Ceramus were probably merchants residing at Rhodes.

The word *πολίτευμα* (lines 7—8) is important: it exactly describes the canton of Ceramus, as described in the passage of Strabo just quoted; a community which was not identical with the *πόλις*, but was made up of the *πόλις* and its associated *κῶμαι*. Hence in line 18 we read of *οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν*.

§ 4: lines 18 foll. He had also acted as ambassador to Heraclea: whether Heraclea ad Latmum or Heraclea Salbace, is doubtful, as both were Carian towns (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 500, and p. 527). I find in this a confirmation of what was said above. The freedom of Caria had meant disintegration: the Carian towns are quarrelling with each other.

## 2.

‘Block of blue marble, which has been cut by the owner to make it into a roller. From a site near the sea, about four miles west of Keramos; there are considerable ruins of Byzantine structures, into which ancient marbles have been built.’

ΙΕΝΙ ΑΙ Ι  
 ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣΑΡΙΣΤΕΟΥ  
 ΥΠΕΡΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΥΥΙΟΥ  
 ΑΡΙΣΤΕΟΥΔΕΚΑΤΗΝ

Ἡρα]ι Ἀκ[ρ]αί[α]ι  
 Ἡράκλειτος Ἀριστέου  
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ  
 Ἀριστέου δεκάτην.

It is doubtful whether *ἀκραῖος* or *ἀκταῖος* was the epithet originally inscribed; see *Lexicons s.v.* I supply Ἡρα from Euripides *Medea*, 1379, as suiting the space, but as a mere conjecture.

## 3.

Inscribed upon one block of blue marble; height 57 cms., width 93 cms. Mr. Paton writes: ‘Whether these two inscriptions, *a* and *b*, are on two sides

of the same stone, or on one side and separated by a space, I cannot remember; but I think, if the former, I should have noted it.'

(a)

ΑΙΑΘΥΓΑΙΙϸ  
ΝΤΟΣΗΣΚΥΡΙΟΣΔΡΑ  
ΤΟΥΛΕΟΝΤΟΣΤΗΝΕ  
ΑΑΡΤΕΜΟΥΝΑΡΙΣΤΟ

5

ΘΕΟΙΣ

"Ἡδεῖα Μητροφάνου, κ]ατὰ θυγατρο-  
ποῖαν δὲ Δράκο]ντος, ἧς κύριος Δρά-  
κων Δράκοντος] τοῦ Λέοντος, τὴν ἐ-  
αυτῆς θυγατέρ]α 'Αρτεμοῦν 'Αριστο-  
κράτου.] θεοῖς.

5

(b)

ΗΔΕΙΑΜΗΤΡΟΦΑΝΟΥΚΑΤΑΘΥΓΑ////////ΠΟΙΑΝ  
ΔΕΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΣΗΣΚΥΡΙΟΣΔΡΑΚΩΝΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΣ  
ΤΟΥΛΕΟΝΤΟΣΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΗΣΑΝΔΡΑΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑ  
ΤΗΝΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΣΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΚΑΙΕΥΝΟΙ

5

ΑΣΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΥΤΗΝ

ΘΕΟΙΣ

"Ἡδεῖα Μητροφάνου, κατὰ θυγα[τρο]ποῖαν  
δὲ Δράκοντος, ἧς κύριος Δράκων Δράκοντος  
τοῦ Λέοντος, τὸν ἐαυτῆς ἄνδρα 'Αριστοκρά-  
την Δράκοντος ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοί-  
ας τῆς εἰς αὐτήν· θεοῖς.

5

Apparently from the base of two statues erected by Hedeia to her daughter and her husband respectively. The date is about 200 B.C. The word *θυγατροποιία* is worth noting: it occurs in an inscription from Cos (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* vi. p. 265), and in another from Heraclea Salbace in Caria (*ibid.* ix. p. 331); in the latter the form is debased to *θυγατροποιά*, as in the document before us. On the *κύριος*, or *tutor*, whose permission is necessary before Hedeia can expend money upon the erection of these statues, see Reinach, *Traité d'Épigraphie Grecque*, p. 112.

4.

'A marble base: height 66 cms.; width 88 cms.; no apices.'

ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΝΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ  
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΗΣΑΝΤΑΘΑΔΕΛ  
ΦΟΣΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣΘΕΜΙΣΤΟ

5 ΚΛΕΟΥΣΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΑΚΑΙ  
ΦΙΛΟΣΤΟΡΓΙΑΣΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΤΟΝ  
ΘΕΟΙΣ

Εὐάνδρον Θεμιστοκλέους  
στεφανηφορήσαντα ὁ ἀδελ-  
φὸς Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεμιστο-  
κλέους εὐνοίας ἔνεκα καὶ  
5 φιλοστοργίας τῆς εἰς ἑατόν  
θεοῖς.

The name Themistocles occurs again in No. 5, and also as a magistrate's name upon the coins of Ceramus. The form *ἑατόν* is a mark of the Augustan age; note also *ἔνεκα* and not *ἔνεκεν*.

5.

‘White marble: height 98 cms.; width 64 cms.’

ΤΥΧΗΙΑΓΑΘΗ  
ΕΙΡΗΝΑΙΟΝΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ  
ΤΟΝΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΙΕΡΟΣΚΟΠΟΝ  
ΗΠΑΤΡΙΣΚΑΘΑΔΙΕΤΑΖΑΤΟΟΕΙ  
5 ΡΗΝΑΙΟΣΕΚΠΡΟΔΟΜΑΤΟΣΤΗΣ  
ΠΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΚΟΣΑΕΤΙΑΣΗΣΕΜΙ  
ΣΘΩΣΕΝΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝΠΑΙΛΙΟΣ  
ΓΛΑΥΚΙΠΠΟΣΑΓΡΟΥΟΥΚΑΤΕΛΙ  
ΠΕΝΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΕΝΤΗΟΛΟΣΣΙΔΙ  
10 ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΕΞΩΑΓΡΟΥΚΑ  
ΤΑΤΗΝΚΡΙΣΙΝΤΟΥΑΖΙΟΛΟΓΩ  
ΤΑΤΟΥΛΟΓΙΣΤΟΥΑΥΡΔΙΟΔΟΤΟ  
ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΝΤΟΣΠΑΙΛΠΡΩΤΟ  
ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣΥΙΟΥΑΙΛΘΕΜΙΣΤΟ  
15 ΚΛΕΟΥΣΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΚΑΙΧΙΛΙΑΡΧΟΥ  
ΕΡΓΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣΑΝΤΟΣΤΗΣΑΝΑ  
ΣΤΑΣΕΩΣΤΟΥΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΟΣ  
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΤΟΥΛΕΟΝΝΑΤΟ  
ΜΕΝΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΔΗΜΗΤ  
20 ΟΥΤΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΑΡΧΟΥΑΝΑΣΤΑΘΕΝ  
ΤΟΣΤΟΥΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΟΣΣΤΡΑΤΗ  
ΓΟΥΝΤΟΣΤΟΒΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤΟΥ  
ΤΟΥΜΕΛΑΝΤΑΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟ

Τύχη ἀγαθῇ·  
Εἰρηναῖον Δρακοντομένους  
τὸν γενόμενον ἱεροσκόπου  
ἡ πατρίς, καθὰ διετάξατο ὁ Εἰ-  
ρηναῖος ἐκ προδόματος τῆς  
5 πρώτης εἰκοσαετίας ἧς ἐμί-  
σθωσεν στρατηγῶν Π. Αἴλιος  
Γλαύκιππος ἀγροῦ οὗ κατέλι-  
πεν τῇ πόλει ἐν τῇ Ὀλοσσίδι  
10 καλουμένου Ἐξω Ἀγροῦ κα-  
τὰ τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ ἀξιολογω-  
τάτου λογιστοῦ Αὐρ. Διοδότου,  
στρατηγοῦντος Π. Αἴλ. Πρωτο-  
λέοντος υἱοῦ Αἴλ. Θεμιστο-  
15 κλέους ἀσάρχου καὶ χιλιάρχου,  
ἐργεπιστατήσαντος τῆς ἀνα-  
στάσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος  
Ἀριστοκράτους τοῦ Λεοννάτου  
Μενεστράτου τοῦ καὶ Δημητρί-  
20 ου τοῦ εἰρηνάρχου, ἀνασταθέν-  
τος τοῦ ἀνδριάντος στρατη-  
γοῦντος τὸ β Θεομνήστου  
τοῦ Μελάντα Ἀπολλωνίδου.

A statue is erected (lines 17, 21) by the city (line 4) to one Irenaeus (line 2), who had left by will a certain estate to the city called 'Ο ἔξω Ἀγρός (line 10). This land was accordingly let by the *στρατηγός* of the city (lines 7 foll.) on a twenty years' lease, the lessee paying down a consideration for the lease at the outset (*προδόμα*, line 5). Out of this payment the cost of the statue is defrayed in accordance with the testament of Irenaeus (line 4). It appears that this application of a public bequest, even though directed by the testator, could not be made without obtaining the sanction of the *λογιστής* (line 12) or *curator*, for whose functions the reader is referred to Marquardt, *Röm. Alt.* iv. p 488. The word *κρίσις* however may imply that the will had been disputed, perhaps by the relatives of the deceased, and the curator had upheld the bequest made to the city. The word *προδόμα* seems to be unknown.

6.

‘A portion of an architrave. I have not made a drawing of it, but my notes are as follows: The total length of the block can be estimated; about twenty letters may be missing on the right of lines 1, 2; these lines are complete on the left. Line 3 is broken on the left; only about six letters can be missing. I am however inclined to think we have the beginning of line 3, as there is between the P and the break a somewhat wider space than the usual interval between the letters. If line 3 is complete on the left, and was engraved exactly in the middle, only about twelve letters are missing in lines 1 and 2 on the right. The restorations given below accord with this supposition. The letters have apices: those in line 1 are more widely spaced.’

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΝΕΡΟΥΑΤΡΑΙΑΝΩΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩΚΑΙΘΕΟΙΣΚΕΡΑ  
 ΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥΚΑΙΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΥΝΤΕΣΚΑΘΩΣΥΠΕΣ  
 ΡΙΟΝΕΚΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΤΕΣΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΓ

Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Νερούα Τραιανῶ Σεβαστῶ Γερμανικῶ καὶ θεοῖς Κερα[μῶν] καὶ  
 τῇ πατρίδι Ἑρμόφαντος Διονυσίου καὶ Ἑρμόφαντος Λυκίσκου ἀγορανομούντες καθὼς ὑπέσ[χοντο] τὸ ἀλυπτή-  
 ριον ἐκ θεμελίων κατασκευάσαντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέβ[η]καν.

Dedication made in the reign of Trajan: the dedication No 9 is apparently a generation later.



## 7.

‘Black slab of marble, broken at left and at top; height 70 cms., width 75 cms. Letters very broad: all the lines are complete on the right.’

ΙϞ /      ΙΑΚΑΙΑΓΟΡΑΝΟ  
 ΞΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΚΑΙ  
 ΕΜΝΩΣΚΑΙΚΗΔΕΜΟΝΙΚΩΣ  
 ΝΟΝΔΕΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΘΗΝΑΙ  
 5    ΤΟΝΒΑΛΑΝΕΙΟΝΚΑΙΔΟΝΤΑΕΙΣ  
      ΞΣΚΕΥΗΝΑΥΤΟΥΑΡΓΥΡΙΑΚΑΙΠΑ  
      ΝΣΥΝΤΕΛΕΙΩΣΙΝΧΑΡΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΝ  
      ΨΧΩΣΑΡΓΥΡΙΑΤΙΜΗΘΕΝΤΑ  
      ΣΥΠΟΤΗΣΒΟΥΛΗΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΔΗ  
 10    ΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΙΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΚΑΙΤΟΔΕΥΤΕ  
      ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣΑΝΤΑΜΕΤΑΤΟΥ  
      ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥΚΑΙΤΩΝΚΟΜΒΩΝΔΥ  
      ΤΡΑΤΟΥΚΑΙΙΕΡΩΝΟΣΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙ  
      ΝΟΙΑΣΚΑΙΤΙΜΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΤΗΣΕΙΣΑΥ  
 15    ΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΤΕΣΚΑΙΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΑΝΤΕΣ  
      ΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΚΑΙΤΗΝΕΙΚΟΝΑΠΑΡΕΑΥΤΟΥ

. . . . . σαντ]α καὶ ἀγορανο-  
 μήσαντα κ]αὶ γραμματεύσαντα καὶ  
 καλῶς καὶ σ]εμνῶς καὶ κηδεμονικῶς,  
 ποιησάμε]νον δὲ κατασκευασθῆναι  
 5    . . . . . ον βαλανεῖον καὶ δόντα εἰς  
      τὴν κατ]ασκευὴν αὐτοῦ ἀργύρια καὶ πά-  
      λιν εἰς τῇ]ν συντελείῳσιν χαρισάμενον  
      μεγαλοψύ]χως ἀργύρια, τιμηθέντα  
      πολλάκι]ς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δή-  
 10    μου ταῖς] μεγίσταις τειμαῖς καὶ τὸ δεύτε-  
      ρον συν]γυμνασιαρχήσαντα μετὰ τοῦ  
      υἱοῦ] Θεοδώρου καὶ τῶν ΚΟΜΒΩΝ δυ-  
      οῖν . . . σ]τράτου καὶ Ἰέρωνος, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ  
      ὁ δῆμος εὐ]νοίας καὶ τιμῆς ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς αὐ-  
 15    τὸν κατασ]κευάσαντες καὶ ἀναστ(ῆ)σαντες  
      τὸν ἀ]νδριάντα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα παρ' ἑαυτοῦ.

Statue in honour of a wealthy and munificent citizen, dating apparently from the first century A.D. In line 12 ΚΟΜΒΩΝ is unintelligible; we

might conjecture *γαμβρῶν*. The last line also is obscure both in sense and in grammar. Does it mean that the senate and people in erecting this statue (*ἀνδριάντα*) to his honour have taken the opportunity of placing with it also a portrait-bust or statuette (*εἰκόνα*) presented by the man himself (*παρ' ἐαυτοῦ*)? We are aware that *ἀνδριάντες* erected at this period to express the gratitude of impoverished towns were not always likenesses of their benefactors, but merely old honorary statues with a new inscription (see Dio Chrysostom, *Rhodiaca Oratio*, No. 31).

## 8.

'On an architrave of blue marble, partly buried; height 40 cms. Height of letters 4.2 cms.'

ΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΗΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΣΑΡΧ

Ἡ δεῖνα Ἀριστοκράτους ἡ ἀρχιέρεια καὶ στεφανηφόρος Ἀρχ . . . .

'On the Architrave of a Gateway. Length 210 cms.'

ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗ ΦΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΙΣ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΣ ΥΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ Η  
ΓΥΝΗ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΕΙΚΗ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ Η ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗ ΦΟΡΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ

ΒΑΛΑΝΕΙΟΝ ΕΚΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΠΕΡΓΑΝΤΑ ΣΥΝΠΑΝΤΙ ΤΩ ΚΟΣΜΩ ΕΚΤΩΝ

ΙΔΙΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ

'Γεροκλής' Ερμόφαντος ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ στεφανηφόρος καὶ τρεῖς γυμνασίάρχως, υἱὸς πόλεως, καὶ ἡ  
γυνὴ αὐτοῦ 'Αριστονείκη' Ἀριστοκράτους ἡ ἀρχιέρεια καὶ στεφανηφόρος, ἀρχιερατεύοντες, καὶ τὸ  
βαλανεῖον ἐκ θεμελίων καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔργα πάντα σὺν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐκ τῶν  
ιδίων κατασκευάσαντες ἀνέθηκαν.

## 10.

'Two portions of one architrave; height of letters 7.5 cms. The measurements of (a) are not given; (b) measures in length 195 cms., in height 38 cms.'

(a)

ΗΞΑΠΦΙΟΥΓ

(b)

ΣΤΟΥΑΒΡΟΝΕΙΚΗΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΑΠΦ

(a)

(b)

. . . . ης 'Απφίου . . . . . στου 'Αβρονείκη 'Ερμοφάντου 'Απφ . . . .

The name ΕΡΜΟΦΑ . . . occurs as the name of a magistrate on one of the coins of Ceramus; see also No. 6 *ante*.

By way of appendix I repeat here the five inscriptions of Ceramus which were copied by Captain Spratt and published by Professor Babington (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Lit.* vol. x.).

## 11.

'On a column in a plain below the city, apparently the site of a temple.' Published in cursive only, which I reproduce.

	Τὸν θεοφιλέστατον
	Καίσαρα Γάϊον Βάλεντα
	Ὅστιλλιανὸν Μέσ[σ]ιον
5	Κοῦντον Εὐσεβῆ, Εὐ-
	τυχῇ, Σεβαστὸν, υἱὸν
	τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτο-
	κράτορος Καίσαρος
	Γαίου Μεσσίου Κοῦντου
10	Τραϊανοῦ Δεκίου, Εὐσεβοῦς,
	Εὐτυχοῦς, Σεβαστοῦ,
	ἡ Κεραμειτῶν πόλις
	εὐτυχῶς·
	Μ. Αὐ. Β. Πολεῖτη β̄ τῷ
	ἀρχιῳτρω πρώτῳ ἄρ-
15	χόντι τὸ β̄.

The editor remarks that this inscription establishes the fact, hitherto doubtful, that Hostilianus was the son of Decius. The document belongs to

the year A.D. 251. Babington misunderstood the last three lines. They read thus: M(άρκῳ) Αὐ(ρηλίῳ) Β(άλεντι) Πολείτῃ (Πολείτου) τῷ ἀρχιάτρῳ πρώτῳ ἄρχοντι τὸ β, *i.e.* 'when M. Aur. Valens Polites, the archiater, was π. α. for the second time.' The dative is equivalent to the Latin ablative, and β in line 13 merely implies that Polites bore his father's name (see on *C.I.G.* 2455, &c.). For the title πρώτος ἄρχων see the *Index* to *C.I.G.* The name Polites is noteworthy: perhaps the only man of Ceramus known to fame was an athlete Polites, who won both the long and the short race at Olympia on the same day (Pausan. vi. 13, § 2).

## 12.

'On another upright column: the last three lines. All the upper part is so obliterated as to be unintelligible; but the column appears to have been inscribed four or five feet further up.' Given in cursive only.

. . . . . Σεκοῦνδος (?)  
 [Τε]ρεντία  
 . . . νου καὶ ἐπιτρόπου Ἀππιανοῦ (?) Κλάρου

## 13.

'At a well in midst of ruins of city, and near a very beautiful doorway, apparently the entrance of a temple.'

Ἀντωνεῖνῳ Σεβ[αστῷ].

## 14.

'In wall of a small modern house in midst of ruins of ancient city.'

τέκνοις αὐ . . .  
 μφ.

## 15.

'In the same house. Perhaps a part of the same ancient monument as the preceding.'

Ἀγρίππα καὶ Ἰουλίας (in three lines, two garlands below).

E. L. HICKS.

# THE PROCESSES OF GREEK SCULPTURE, AS SHOWN BY SOME UNFINISHED STATUES IN ATHENS.<sup>1</sup>

THERE are several unfinished statues now in the National Museum at Athens which seem not to have attracted as yet the attention they deserve. Whatever be the reason which has led the ancient sculptor to leave them unfinished, they are full of instruction to the modern student. In them we almost seem to see the artist at his work, and to be admitted to his studio. Even if they were given up because of a flaw or a mistake, that very mistake may teach us more as to the methods of the artist than many a completed statue. Fortunately, also, these unfinished statues in Athens illustrate various periods, from the archaic to one which is certainly later than the finest; and thus we are able to see what changes, if any, took place in the technique of sculpture during this interval, and, above all, we are not forced to generalize as to Greek sculpture from isolated examples of only one place or period.

## I.—ARCHAIC.

Our first example (Fig. 1)<sup>2</sup> is a statue about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of life size, which was seen by Ross (*Inschrise*, I. p. 41) lying just below the quarries at Naxos, where he saw also the well-known colossal unfinished statue. There can therefore be little doubt as to the place where it was made; it was evidently never finished, perhaps because the sculptor saw his proportions would not come right, and so remained where it was, until it was transported to the National Museum at Athens. It happens most fortunately that this statue is—or was going to be—a typical example of the first period of Greek sculpture. It clearly represents what is commonly called the archaic ‘Apollo’ type, a nude male figure, standing up stiffly, with the left leg advanced and with both arms pinned down to the sides. It was also intended to have long hair. There is no necessity to discuss here this well-known type or its various meanings and applications, whether to represent a god or a man. All we are now concerned

<sup>1</sup> For several suggestions in this paper, especially on the subject of practical sculpture and technique, I am indebted to Mr. W. Goscombe John, gold medallist (sculpture) of the Royal Academy, with whom I visited the mu-

seums and examined most of the unfinished works described in this paper.

<sup>2</sup> I have to thank Dr. Walter Leaf for the photographs reproduced in this cut and the next.



FIG. 1.

with is to notice the manner in which the artist sets to work, when he intends to make a statue of this type.

The statue is nearly perfect in preservation, only the legs from above the knees being lost. Though the treatment of the knees and feet might have farther exemplified the sculptor's methods, I think enough is left for us to be able to see clearly what those methods were.

The first thing that we notice is the extreme flatness of the surface at front, back and sides, so far as the original outline is left. In the back this is clearest; taken vertically, there is a marked curve; but a rule held horizontally against the back at any height would touch every point in the whole breadth from shoulder to shoulder or side to side. In front we see almost the same thing. At the sides there is a similar flat surface of the breadth of the arm; but the outline of the arm has been cut in parallel to the back and front planes from the side, and parallel to the side planes from the front, so that almost rectangular pieces are cut out. The result may best be realized, if one imagines the statue cut through horizontally at almost any height; the section resulting will be contained by lines parallel to the back and front of the statue, and others at right angles to them, parallel to the sides. In fact at most parts of the body the section will present a rectangular parallelogram, with a smaller rectangle attached at each side for the arms. The corners are not of course left quite sharp, but they are not rounded off enough to obscure the rectangular shape. Now when one considers the freeness of the outlines of the figure taken vertically—that is to say, viewed from the front or side—and compares it with the two sets of straight lines at right angles to one another taken in horizontal section—that is, viewed from above or below—the conclusion is obvious. The outline of the figure from the front or side must be drawn freely; the horizontal section at any point is dependent for its outline on two parallel systems of lines at right angles to one another. That is to say, the process followed in making the statue is precisely that followed by a beginner in sculpture now—or at any time—when he has to set to work on a rectangular block of marble and to hew a statue out of it. First he draws the outline of the statue in full face and in profile on the front and the side of the block. Then he carries these outlines straight through, working from the front parallel to the sides, and from the side parallel to the original front plane. When this process is completed, the statue, from front or side, has the required outline; but in horizontal section it is at any point perfectly rectangular. When the arms and legs have then been similarly outlined, and cut in to the required depth, and the face a little shaped, the result is a statue in precisely the condition in which we see the Naxian statue now before us.

There can then be hardly a doubt as to the process which produced this unfinished statue. But how far can we apply generally to early sculpture the results we have attained in a single example? An examination of a few well-known and typical archaic statues will enable us to answer this question.

It has often been observed that many archaic statues are square in shape—that is, in horizontal section. This squareness has often been



attributed to wood-technique or other influences—in part at least erroneously, as we shall now see. It is not however universal in archaic statues; it would be rash to generalize without examining a very large number of instances, but I think it will be found to be especially characteristic of the Ionic and Island schools. Thus we find that the horizontal section would be almost rectangular in the Branchidae figures, in the figure dedicated by Nicandra to Artemis at Delos, in the winged figure by Archermos from Delos, in the 'Apollo' of Thera, and in that class among the female statues found on the Acropolis at Athens which I was disposed, for other reasons, to regard as the common or Ionic type Atticized.<sup>1</sup>

It seems more than a coincidence that squareness of shape belongs to just those schools and works which are traditionally connected with the first beginnings of marble sculpture. On the other hand we notice a round horizontal section, especially at the height of the waist, in the Hera of Samos<sup>2</sup> at the Louvre, and in the early Apollo figures from Boeotia, that of Orchomenos and those from the temple of Apollo Ptous.<sup>3</sup> In this connection it is worth observing that the treatment of the face in the Apollo Ptous resembles strongly that seen in the Acropolis statue (*Musées d'Athènes*, Pl. ix.), which differs from all the rest, and resembles in drapery the Hera of Samos.<sup>4</sup> But without following farther, for the present, an indication which might lead to interesting results, we may at least notice that the squareness of shape which we see in our unfinished statue is also to be observed, with the corners a little more rounded off, in a large number of statues even after finishing; and especially among statues of the Ionic type, to which our Naxian figure must also belong. And so we may infer that they all were made by the same process which we see going on in the unfinished statue; that is to say that the front and side outlines were first drawn on the front and side of the block, and then cut straight through parallel to the side and front lines, details being added and corners rounded off afterwards, but the general squareness of shape being preserved.

This squareness, as we have already noticed, has been by some attributed to the influence of wood-technique.<sup>5</sup> That the influence of wood-technique is to be seen in some early sculpture, few probably will be prepared to deny; but that influence has been on the one hand exaggerated, on the other sought for in a wrong direction. Without some such process as that we have just inferred, there is no reason why a square section should be produced at the waist or the narrowest part of a statue, because the original block of marble or wood from which it was cut was square;<sup>6</sup> but by such a process of parallel

<sup>1</sup> *B* and *D* and fig. 1, in my paper in this *Journal*, 1887, p. 163; Pl. x. in *Les Musées d'Athènes*; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1887, Pl. ix.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880, Pl. xiii-xiv. In separating Samos from the Ionic type, we may quote that the Hera there was made by Smilis the pupil of Daedalus.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886, Pl. iv.; cf. *J. H. S.* 1887, p. 188, fig. 6.

<sup>4</sup> See *J. H. S.* 1887, p. 187—189.

<sup>5</sup> We are, I think, influenced in this matter by our conventional use of the word 'wooden' to mean 'stiff and square.' I do not think this meaning will bear careful analysis from the point of view of style.

<sup>6</sup> I do not of course deny that the natural cleavage of wood according to the grain tends to produce flat surfaces. But the squareness of a stone statue need not be derived from imitation of a wooden model, as is often supposed.

cutting the square shape would be transferred even to the narrowest parts. Again, the squareness of the original block is an unjustified presumption. A block of marble cut from a quarry is usually rectangular. But a piece of wood, a *δοκός*, is not rectangular, but round in its original shape. We think usually of a beam as square, and hence has arisen this misapprehension that has led to numerous mistakes and misstatements. That the Greeks did not so think of it is shown by the following story about Agesilaus, recorded by Plutarch:<sup>1</sup> 'When Agesilaus saw in Asia a house roofed with square beams, he asked the owner if trees grew square in those parts. The answer was "no, they grow round." "I suppose then," said he, "if they grew square, you would cut them round." We notice here, first, that Agesilaus had to go to Asia to see square beams; the story would fall very flat if the *δοκοὶ* he was used to at home were not left in their natural round shape—and the same shape would probably belong to the *δόκανα* which were the primitive symbol of the Dioscuri at Sparta. In the next place we see that he regarded a round log, a portion of the trunk or branch of a tree, as the ordinary shape of a rough piece of wood. Such must always be the notion of those who cut down their wood and use it on the spot: it is only because all the wood we use is imported or brought from a distance, already cut in the form used in modern building, &c., that we think of a block of wood as square. With this modern notion disappears the principal reason for associating squareness of shape with the influence of wood-technique, but on the other hand roundness of horizontal section does suggest the form of the trunk of a tree; and it is this roundness, not squareness, that should perhaps be associated with wood-technique. In this context it may be worth while to observe that the most typical example we noticed of roundness of shape was the Hera from Samos. And we know that at Samos it was Smilis, the wood-carver and pupil of Daedalus, who substituted a statue for the primitive wooden symbol.<sup>2</sup>

There are two other misapprehensions that have, I think, led to an exaggeration of the influence of wood-technique. One is as to the meaning of the word *ξόανον*, another as to the more general question of the development of sculpture from primitive temple-images.

As to the first question, it is to be noted that *ξόανον*, though generally assumed to mean a wooden statue, cannot be proved to have any so exclusive signification. Thus Xenophon (*Anab.* v. 3, 12) says τὸ ξόανον ἔοικεν ὡς κυπαρίσσινον χρυσῷ ὄντι τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, and Euripides speaks (*Trö.* 1074) of χρυσέων ξοάνων τύποι. Again, Strabo (ix. 396) calls the colossal marble statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus a *ξόανον*. The fact is that the verb *ξέω* is

<sup>1</sup> *Apophth.* Lac. *Agēs.* θεασάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας οἰκίαν τετραγώνοις ὠροφωμένην δοκοῖς, ἠρώτησε τὸν κεκτημένον εἰ τετράγωνα παρ' αὐτοῖς φύεται ξύλα· φαμένον δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ στρογγύλα, τί οὖν, εἶπεν, εἰ τετράγωνα ἦν, στρογγύλα ἐτελεῖτε;

<sup>2</sup> It is true that Callimachus calls this a *σανίς*, but we have no reason to suppose that he knew more than we do about its shape. And he contradicts himself by calling it *ἄξοος*. If so, it

must have had its natural round shape: in the next line is compared the *κίων* (*leg.* *κίον*), at Bentley's suggestion) of Athena at Lindus. Since writing the above, I have seen M. Lechat's interesting paper in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* 1890. He traces the influence of metal work in the Samian type; but the roundness of shape seems due to the plating of a log with metal, as in the case of the Apollo at Amyclae.

properly applicable to stone (cf. *ξεστὸς λίθος*) or wood, and the noun *ξύανον* is used for any statue, either of these materials or of metal. We cannot therefore, whenever we hear of a primitive *ξύανον*, infer that it was of wood, but we must be guided by other indications, if there are any, as to its material; and if there are none, we must be content to remain ignorant on the point.

The second misapprehension I refer to is concerned with the development of sculpture from the rude symbols of deities in temples. These symbols were of course often of wood, and some have supposed that Greek sculpture was developed from gradual improvement of these. I do not believe this to have been the case, to any considerable extent. Of course, as sculpture and the appreciation of form developed, the temple-image had to follow the development, in order not to appear totally inadequate or even ludicrous. But it followed, it did not lead, and even in the times of the highest art many rude symbols of primitive worship survived as the centre of religious ceremonies. The true development of Greek sculpture came in another way. The earliest attempts at anything worthy of the name of a statue are to be seen in the nude male and draped female figures which have been found on all early Greek sites; these were usually dedications representing either the deity or the worshipper; but they were not objects of worship, nor was their model the sacred symbol in the temple. What in them is conventional, and not taken from a direct observation of nature, is probably to be traced to the statuettes of Phoenician import and of types borrowed from Egyptian or Oriental art, which are also found upon almost all sites of early Greek habitation.

We have been led to some distance from our original subject by this attempt to reduce to its due place the influence of the primitive temple statue and of wood-technique upon early Greek sculpture. We may now, however, see that these influences are inadequate to explain the squareness of form for which the true explanation is, I think, now before us. Before we leave this early statue, a word or two should be added as to the tools used in its cutting. There is no sign of any tool but a rather sharp punch, driven probably with a hammer.<sup>1</sup> Of the marks of this instrument we shall see other examples in other unfinished statues, and to these we must now pass on.

NOTE.—Since I wrote the above, my attention has been called by Dr. Wolters to the marks of the saw in the deep folds of the drapery of the female figure from Delos in the National Museum at Athens (22 in the catalogue). This is a typical specimen of Ionic art, and shows most remarkably the square shape above noticed. Such a shape would be very easily produced by following the drawn outlines with a saw, parallel first to the side and then to the front of the block, and this process may have been the one used in the case of some of these square statues.

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<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps a pointed hammer.

## II.—VARIOUS STAGES OF WORKING.

Our second example of unfinished statues belongs to a very different period (Fig. 2). It is one of a group of unfinished statues which comes from Rheneia, most of which seem to be of fourth century work, and some of them intended to be erected over graves. It is not my intention here to consider the style or the subject of the statue, which do not concern our present discussion; all we have to notice on these points is that the statue probably belongs to Greek sculpture of the finest period of execution, and so may teach us something as to the methods of the artists of that period in carving a statue out of a block of marble.

In the first place we notice three small drill-holes over the brow, just in the middle of the statue horizontally, made in a rough piece of marble evidently left for the purpose, and intended to be worked off when the statue was finished (this appears clearly in the illustration). At the bottom are two corresponding drill-holes, one in a square hole let in between the feet, and another outside the left foot. These holes must have served for the adjustment of a rod or a line, fixed vertically down the front plane of the block along the middle of the body, to serve as a guide to the sculptor. That it was so used is quite clear from the line down the body just behind it, which does not correspond to the curve of the muscles, but does bound two different stages in the finishing of the work. These different stages can be very easily distinguished even in our engraving; in the statue itself they are clearer still. I will number them for convenience of reference.

(1) The rough rectangular block of marble is still left at the back across the whole breadth of the statue up to the shoulders; it is also left at the back of the head and neck to serve as a support.

(2) From the feet to the middle of the shin the marble has been roughly worked off in large chips by the use of chisel or punch and a mallet. The shape of the limbs is only very roughly discernible.

(3) From the middle of the shin up to the junction of body and legs. The work here is similar but carried deeper, so that the form of the limbs shows more clearly. The instrument used is a smaller and sharper punch and its marks are sharper and closer together; the surface thus reached is  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch to an inch deeper than 2.

(4) Upon the upper part of process 3, as a preparation for the advance to 5, the marble is being worked off by a number of irregular round holes, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch deep, and one inch or more in diameter at the top. These are scooped out, so to speak, with some rounded instrument; but that instrument is not a drill nor anything resembling a drill—rather a curved chisel or gouge. At first sight some might be disposed to think that these holes served as puntelli taken from a finished clay or plaster model, to attain a measured depth upon the surface of the statue; but the instrument used is not one suited to this purpose; the drill which made the holes we have already noticed would have done this work with more accuracy and less labour. And besides,



FIG. 2.

why should measured puntelli be used at this point only in the various processes which we see to have been used in making the statue? A careful examination of these peculiar round holes shows that they are simply used as a convenient method of removing the bulk of the layer that has to come off between processes 3 and 5. It is probably used now, and not before, because the sculptor is now approaching his final surface, and therefore is anxious to see more clearly what he is doing as he goes on, and to be quite sure what depth his next process will attain.

(5) This next process is visible upon the middle of the body and the left half of the front of the abdomen, where it is divided from state 4 by the vertical line we have already noticed down the front of the statue. The whole surface is worked away about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch deeper than 3, with the same punch but sharper and more carefully used. In this state an approximation to the general forms of the body is reached, but no details of muscles &c. are yet to be distinguished.

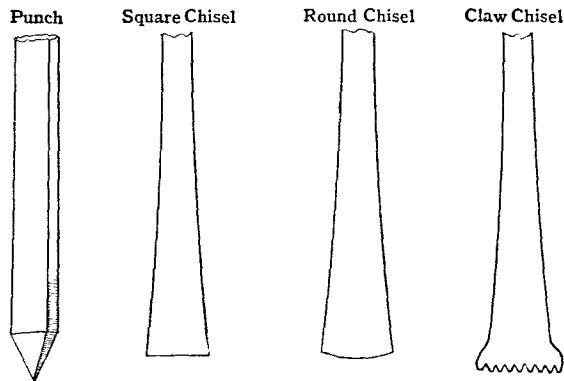


FIG. 3.—FORMS OF TOOLS.

(6) We now come to the part nearest approaching completion; this covers the upper part of the chest and arms (so far as these are worked out of the original block), the neck and the head, and the drapery. In the folds of the drapery the running drill is used; the rest of the surface is worked over in all directions by the parallel tooth-marks of a fine claw-chisel. Thus a depth of about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch below 5 has been worked away, and about as much is still left, in which all fine detail and play of surface is still to be rendered. How this was to be done is not clear in this statue, though others in a more advanced stage may help us in this matter. These we shall afterwards consider. At present it remains for us to sum up what we have learnt from the unfinished statue before us.

In the first place we notice that it is quite free-cut; there is no sign of any appliance to guide the hand or eye of the sculptor, except perhaps a vertical rod or line fixed down the front of the block. Of the existence of a finished clay or plaster model, from which points were taken by a mechanical process to help its exact reproduction in marble, there is not the slightest

indication. This fact is of great importance. There is no doubt that in Roman times, and possibly occasionally earlier, *puntelli* from a finished model or 'proplasma' were used just as they are in modern times; traces of such a proceeding have been found in later statues. But it seems most probable that this practice was one of the mechanical improvements introduced in the school of Lysippus and especially by his brother Lysistratus.<sup>1</sup> At any rate it certainly was not universal, nor probably even common, in good Greek times, to judge from many extant unfinished statues. Whether a clay model was used at all is a different question. But we must remember that the artist who sold his *proplasmata* at high prices was Arcesilaus, who was at Rome in the first century B.C., and that the man who spoke of 'plastice' as '*mater statuariae*' was Pasiteles, an artist of the same period. If such practices or opinions had been held by earlier and more famous artists, it is hardly probable that they would only be quoted about sculptors of Roman period. We cannot of course deny that a Greek artist of the best period may very probably have helped himself in designing by sketches in clay; but if he intended to make his statue by the method we see here in process, it is hard to see why he should ever have taken the trouble to make a full-size clay model or to finish it in detail, at least when he intended to execute his statue in marble. We may then at once dismiss the thought that any mechanical copying of a prepared model is to be seen in our statue. The artist is cutting it quite freely out of the block, knowing of course what he wants to do, but not having before him any finished embodiment or reproduction of the work of art he has in his mind. The rod fixed down the middle of the block in front is an additional proof of the freedom with which he works. So far is he from having any measured points fixed in the block, that he requires this line to help his eye and hand in duly proportioning the two sides and limbs, and in keeping the centre of gravity of the statue in its true position. The different stages by which he worked lower to his imaginary 'statue within the block' are all to be clearly seen. He first works away layer after layer with some simple cutting tools, a mallet and punch in all probability; it is not impossible a pointed hammer may have been used for the rougher work. When he has approached the final surface of the statue in this way, bit by bit (for he does not finish each process through before beginning another), he gouges away a depth of about half an inch, honey-combing the marble with round holes till he sees the surface below at intervals; then he returns to his mallet and punch, and works down near to his final surface. As he gets quite close to this, he takes to a finer instrument, the claw-chisel, and works it very freely in all directions over the rough punch marks, till he produces a surface prepared for the final finish of muscles and details. He also takes up a drill, for the first time since he fixed his rod down the front, and now uses it to draw and cut in the folds of the drapery, which he also chisels roughly into shape. At this point his work is interrupted—fortunately for us, since we are thus enabled almost to see the various processes upon which he was employed.

<sup>1</sup> There is no direct authority for this supposition, but the use of finished clay models seems to imply pointing of some sort from them.

## III.—FINAL PROCESSES.

For the processes which followed the last state we noticed in the last statue, we may next turn to two others, an unfinished seated statue of a woman, and the upper part of another, both also from Rheneia. The first of these is fully draped and the high-set girdle seems to point to the Hellenistic period. But it is possible that the three statues from Rheneia may all come from the same studio. Here the whole of the statue is worked over with a claw-chisel—but one with shorter teeth is used, producing a smoother surface. It has been worked across and across the face in all directions. Here also the final surface has nowhere been reached, and there is no sign of pointing from a model. The process is obviously the same as that we have before noticed; the statue is gradually approached by cutting layer after layer from the block, finer tools being used as the final surface is approached. In the other statue, of which the bust only remains and the head is covered with a veil—or, to speak more accurately, has a fold of the himation drawn over it—we see a new and finer process, the last chisel but one coming into play. Marks of the claw-chisel, which, as we have seen, comes next after the punch, are to be seen all over the drapery and hair, but upon the face a different instrument has been used which gives the peculiarly soft appearance, like that of roughly modelled clay, that we see in this statue. This instrument is a chisel with a curved edge, which cuts away the surface in shallow rounded grooves; we shall see its marks in another instance. It is an excellent tool to use immediately before the final cutting with a square-edged chisel; for it cuts into the surface gradually, and does not bite in and chip at the corners. But it is not of course adapted for final use, since it must always however carefully used leave a series of minute ridges with shallow curved grooves between them, such as we may see in this face. These ridges must then be worked away, and the final surface given by a square chisel: afterwards nothing is left but polishing with rough soft stone. The statue was probably intended to be set upon a fourth century grave stela; the beauty of the type is already perceptible, as it were through the thin veil of marble that has yet to be removed.<sup>1</sup>

The marks of a chisel with slightly curved edge are also to be seen upon a torso preserved in the National Museum (Fig. 4). It is of free style, and has long hair descending upon the shoulders—probably a Dionysus or Apollo type. Here the arms and legs are left with the punch marks still visible, in a condition corresponding to state 5 of the unfinished statue in various stages. But a chiselled groove is run down the front of the legs, as if to find the surface below. Upon the front of the body the surface is chiselled down by a succession of parallel grooves, running horizontally across. Then the punch marks are worked away, and only the slight ridges between the grooves remain to be worked off before the statue approaches completion. In some places the

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<sup>1</sup> This bust is numbered 186 in the National Museum. It is reproduced in Lebas and Waddington, Pl. 89. 2.



muscles are only drawn in outline, a characteristic far more marked in our next two examples.

The first of these is a small statue in the National Museum, which is in a very interesting state (Fig. 5). At first glance the stiffness of the lines might lead one to suppose it to be of archaic period, but the free treatment of the drapery (which is nearly, if not quite, finished) shows that it cannot be so early. The statue has been finished as far as the claw-chisel stage, but has



FIGS. 4, 5.

been left with the whole surface nearly flat and showing little detail of modelling. On this surface the artist has drawn and cut in the outlines of the muscles, doubtless with the intention of working them in to their proper relief and modelling; then the hard and definite outlines we now see would naturally disappear, and the various elevations and depressions would pass imperceptibly into one another.

Our last example is the upper part of an unfinished statue which now stands in the middle of the entrance hall of the Acropolis Museum (Fig. 6). It is fortunate that we are able thus to end, as we began, with a statue of which it is easy to recognize the type and period. We have here a reproduction of the subject represented by two or three extant statues, the best known that in the Louvre commonly called Jason. A young man, with one foot supported upon a rock, bends over to tie his sandal with both hands; at the same time he turns his head as if to listen; the subject is doubtless rightly explained as



FIG. 6.

a Hermes, binding on his sandals for flight, while he still turns to hear the last commands of his master Zeus. The type has also been rightly identified as belonging to the Lysippean School, and to that branch of it which excelled in the rendering of anatomy and in the accurate representation of muscles and sinews. It is therefore most interesting to observe the method in which the rendering of the muscles in this statue is prepared. The upper part of the face is almost finished, and in the front of the body a smooth surface is already produced, though at the back the rough punch marks remain. Into this

surface the outlines of the muscles are cut with a curved chisel in broad shallow grooves, which continue even into the rough working at the back. At the side under the arm this treatment is most remarkable, and one distinctly sees portrayed by the grooved outlines the complicated interlacing of muscles so carefully indicated in the anatomical athletic style. When the modelling has been worked out in accordance with the lines thus indicated the play of surface will be what we should expect in a statue of this type. It is very interesting to notice the difference between these complicated lines and the simply drawn outlines of the muscles in the other statue which is thus prepared. But though we have a distinctly Lysippean type, it is to be noticed that the work is still done quite freely on the statue itself. If the work were a more or less mechanical reproduction of a model in clay or plaster, there would be no need of outlining the muscles at this stage, to guide the artist in the next process of his work.

We must of course use some caution in making universal application of the results we have gained from an examination of these few unfinished statues of Greek period. But we find them to confirm one another to a remarkable degree; and I know of no other unfinished statue of Greek period which shows any indications against the truth of the conclusions we have arrived at for Greek sculpture in general.<sup>1</sup> If they are accurate, they will help us to realize the freedom with which Greek sculptors worked their marble; and this freedom and facility of hand perhaps contributed in no small degree to the excellence of their sculpture.

E. A. GARDNER.

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<sup>1</sup> I have noticed drill marks, probably the remains of pointing from a finished model, on the forehead and chest of one statue in Athens. This is the Dionysiac group found near the

Olympieum, and published by M. Koumanoudes in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* for 1888, Pl. 1; it is probably of Hellenistic or Roman period, from its subject.

Τραπεζώ AND Κοσμός IN THE FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON.

THE discovery two years ago of the small terra-cotta here figured, found in a grave in the outer Kerameikos of Athens, seems to me of some interest, especially because of its bearing upon one of the figures from the central slab of the frieze of the Parthenon. This possible relation to the scene there depicted appears to me so manifest that it requires but a few words of comment. The figure is here given in its actual dimensions (Fig., p. 144) and is a terra-cotta which, judging from its style, probably belongs to the first half of the fifth century B.C. There are traces of archaic conventionality, and yet, in the head as well as in the folding of the drapery, there is a freedom which points towards the greater art of the fifth century. It is very likely that the subject represented is the same as in one of the figures carrying what was supposed to be a chair (though it has been doubted) in the slab containing the priestess of Athene with her two female attendants. This terra-cotta is thus of some value in fixing the action of one of these attendants. The object carried on her head may be a small table, but it certainly seems more probable that it is a chair with a cushion.

Miss Jane Harrison in a recent note in the *Classical Review*<sup>1</sup> quotes from my essay on the Art of Pheidias a passage referring to the discussion as to the interpretation of the scene depicted on the central slab of the Eastern frieze,<sup>2</sup> in which I adduce 'a vase-painting of Exekias as evidence that the scenes depicted on this slab are not typical of any sacred religious function, but belong to the sphere of every-day life.' Though in the passage referred to by her I must have laid myself open to misunderstanding, her interpretation of my meaning, as I shall be able to show, does certainly not convey the drift of the essay in question. But I do not regret this misunderstanding, inasmuch as it has enabled Miss Harrison to point out a connection that may exist between Harpocraton's explanation of the word *τραπεζοφόρος* and the possible interpretation of one of these female attendants on the priestess in the Parthenon frieze. Miss Harrison thus proposes to call the two attendants *Τραπεζώ* and *Κοσμός*. For, according to Istros (and his authority is confirmed by a third century inscription in which there is undoubted mention of *ίέρεια* and *τράπεζα*) there were functionaries in the sacred ritual to whom these names were given.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Review*, III. p. 378, Oct. 1889.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*, Essay vii. p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. A.* ii. 374.

Mr. W. Watkiss Lloyd in the next number of the *Classical Review*, p. 423, confirms Miss Harrison and adds the testimony of K. O. Muller, who strengthens the authority of Harpocration by Hesychius *sv.* Τραπεζῶν [Meursius *Att. Lect.* 187 proposes Τραπεζῶ], who defined this by *ἱερεῖά τις Ἀθήνησιν.*



Now I think it quite possible that the two attendants on the priestess in the Parthenon frieze may have had these definite names to indicate their office or function; and this only confirms what I say on p. 241 of the essay referred to. 'I can thoroughly sympathize with the reluctance which many must feel to give up, first, an interpretation long fixed by custom, secondly, one so full of

beautiful associations, and thirdly to resign such a meaning for one seemingly so trivial. It does seem a great step downwards from the dedication of the sacred peplos of Athene, the culminating act of the Panathenaic procession, to the scene of a priest divesting himself of his outer garment. Yet we must not forget that what to our minds appears trivial was not so to the minds of the Greeks, simpler and less sophisticated—especially in matters connected with dress or nudity. Furthermore we must bear in mind that every act connected with the worship, the rites and ceremonies of the gods, was possessed of a solemnity and importance which raised it far above the corresponding prosaic action of daily life.'

The chief aim of the essay in question was to show that the central scene of the Parthenon frieze did probably not represent the dedication of the peplos; but in all likelihood rendered the scene of preparation for the sacrifice of the hecatombs depicted in the frieze as part of the procession. And I quoted the vase of Exekias, and another vase published by Panofka,<sup>1</sup> to show that the scenes represented in the frieze were similarly represented in scenes of daily life; but of course the preparations of the priest and priestess in the Panathenaic procession received a more ritualistic significance and importance from their association with the religious function. What I maintain is that the cloak held by the boy is not likely to be the one peplos of Athene, and that the objects carried on the heads of the attendant maidens do not represent the culminating objects of interest in the religious ceremony; but that both mark the preparation on the part of priest and priestess for a still more important function. And if the two female attendants are Κοσμῶ and Τραπεζῶ, their names will merely indicate the function which they had in this preparation. It seems to me possible, nay even probable, that the two female attendants in the frieze of the Parthenon held these offices; and it appears to me likely that the terra-cotta here published, found in a grave, commemorates the fact that the occupant of the grave once had the distinction of holding this sacred office.

I may here add in short, what will require a fuller treatment on some future occasion, that the numerous marble archaic statues of maidens and women found within the last four years in the excavations on the Acropolis may not represent any deity, but may be statues of such priestesses or officials placed on the Acropolis by the women themselves or their relations in honour of the goddess and in commemoration of their own sacred office. I will here merely single out one argument in support of this view, namely, that Kimon was not likely to have thrown these statues in as materials for filling up the ground after the Persian devastation if they had been sacred statues of the goddess; for it is an error to believe that these statues had been carefully hidden away in one place: they were, in fact, carelessly thrown in as materials for filling.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

<sup>1</sup> *Annali d. Inst.* 1845, p. 60. Pl. D. Fig. 3.

## A STELE COMMEMORATING A VICTORY IN A BOAT-RACE.

WHEN working last Spring in the Central Museum at Athens, my attention was arrested by a sculptured tablet having apparent reference to the Greek boat-races of which I have already treated in two papers in this *Journal*.<sup>1</sup> This relief admits unfortunately of but partial explanation, but nevertheless, as it stands almost alone<sup>2</sup> in its kind, I propose to publish it without waiting for more light on the subject.

The size of the whole stele is forty-one by twenty-six inches. All the middle part of it is blank: probably an inscription had been painted there which has now entirely disappeared. Had it survived, it would have explained the reliefs sculptured above and below it: as things are, we must explain these reliefs as best we can with the help of analogies. It is evident that they refer to a victory won in the boat-races at Athens; perhaps in one of those races of Ephebi at the festivals of Diisoteria, Aianteia, or Munychia which are spoken of in the Ephebic inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

At the head of the stele stand, side by side, three male figures, all apparently young, though the condition of the marble does not allow us to be quite sure on this point (Fig. 1). In the midst is a man wrapped in a himation, evidently a citizen of wealth and consideration: we can scarcely be mistaken in supposing him to be one who has undertaken the *λειτουργία* of paying and feeding the boat's crew which has proved victorious. It must be a representative of this boat's crew who stands on the right clad in a chlamys, and places a wreath on the head of the central figure. Perhaps he may be the *κελευστής*, the steersman and captain of the crew. On the left stands an unmistakable athlete, naked but for a small garment hanging from his shoulder over his left arm; with his right hand he places a wreath on his own head, while in his left hand is a palm. He also clearly represents the victorious crew, but he must be one of those whose thews and muscles have won the prize, probably the stroke oar of the boat. The gradation in drapery of the three figures tells its own tale: the man of wealth is fully clad, the captain wears the knightly chlamys, the athlete stands, all but naked. The *κελευστής* crowns the benefactor, implying that success is due to his generosity, the oarsman crowns himself because it is by his efforts and those of his colleagues that victory has been won.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. 90 and 315.

<sup>2</sup> The well-known trireme-relief of the Acropolis of Athens is also probably part of a stele.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. ii. 316, and the references there given.



FIG. 1.



We next turn to the relief at the bottom of the stele (Fig. 2). A boat is figured going to the left, a pointed beak in front, and a curved aplustre at the stern. In it are seated eight men, all apparently naked. The one next the prow holds over his left shoulder a palm branch, his right hand is advanced and seems to hold a wreath. Then come seven oarsmen, though there is no vestige of oars. Finally we have at the end of the boat a rudder of simple form. But the strange thing is that these men all look one way. They seem to be all rowers, and the steersman, whom in a small boat we should expect also to be the *κελευστής*, is absent. Perhaps the rudder, by a sort of short hand, represents him. This would in fact be by no means inconsistent with Greek usage. If, as is probable, the *κελευστής* appears in the relief above, that may be a reason why he should not appear beneath also. It is true that the *κελευστής* in ancient ships frequently stood or sat in the bows: he occupies this position in Egyptian war-ships,<sup>1</sup> and in the relief published by Pozzo<sup>2</sup> representing a Greek ship of war. But if he occupied this position he could not steer the vessel, and it seems very unlikely that a small boat would carry two passengers, one to give the time and the other to steer.<sup>3</sup>

Supposing then that our representation is of the oarsmen only, it is in many ways interesting. The very number, eight, however little we can press it, appeals to modern English oarsmen. And Dr. Warre of Eton has kindly called my attention to two curious points. First, the men are seated exactly in the position of rest, doing no part of a stroke, but as if sitting for their portraits. Secondly, in size they seem clearly to diminish from the midst towards the bows, like the oarsmen in our eights.

I fear that modern oarsmen will look with some contempt on the heavy outlines of the craft. They must however remember two facts in extenuation of its clumsiness. First that the boat-races were rowed in the open sea along the Attic coast or towards Salamis. And the storms in that sea, though not lasting, are sudden and violent; to venture out in a light boat would be very dangerous. On that rocky coast landing-places are few; there is no shelving shore for a boat to turn to in a sudden squall. And secondly boat-races in Greece were, at least in origin, intended as a preparation for war, and the boats used in them were probably part of the national fleet. Possibly rowing matches in such boats might be as good a training for muscles and wind as contests in our racing-eights.

It may perhaps be considered that the athlete in the upper relief should be called *bow* rather than *stroke*, since he bears a palm like that carried by bow in the lower relief. But this is unlikely. It seems unlikely that bow would have more honour than stroke. But of course when a boat is in action bow can carry a palm far more readily than stroke who has the time to set.

We know but little of this particular class of liturgiae. Possibly they may have been included in the duties of the gymnasiarch, so extensive in later

<sup>1</sup> Duemichen, *Flotte einer ägyptischen Königin*.

<sup>2</sup> This relief has disappeared. It is figured in the *Archaeol. Zeitung*, 1874, pl. 7; and Bau-

meister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1629.

<sup>3</sup> As an instance in which the same man acts as steersman and as *κελευστής* see the ship of Odysseus on a red-figured vase, *M.d.I.* I. 8.

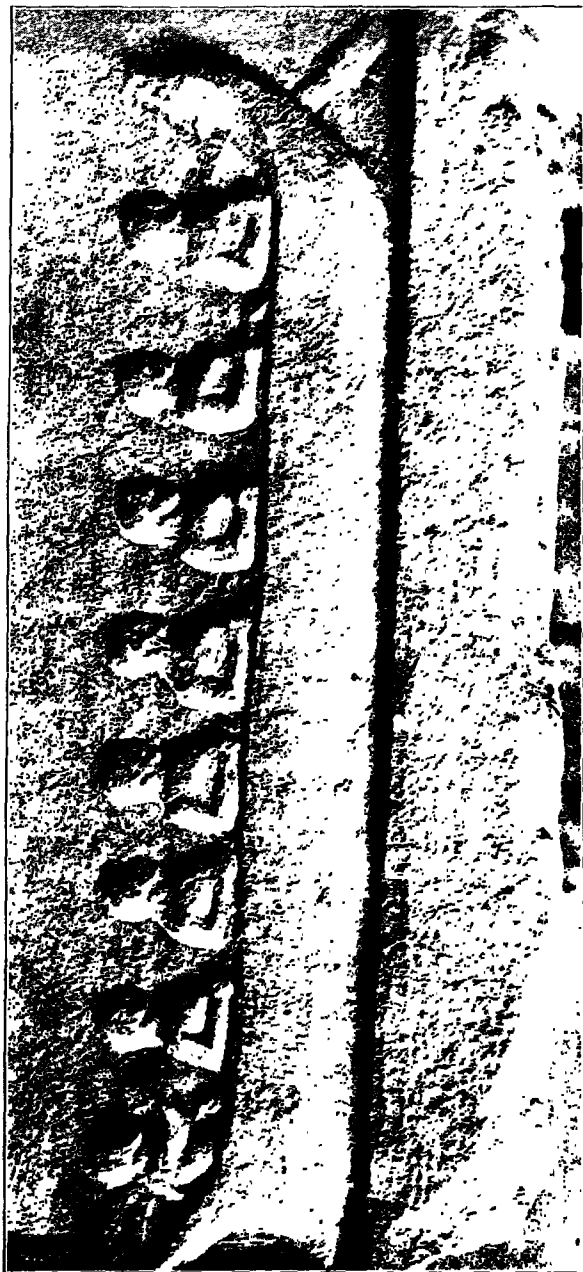


FIG. 2.

Athens. Perhaps in some cases the equipment of a boat to compete in the local races might be part of the duty of a trierarch. The law cited by Demosthenes in the *De Corona* (p. 262) states that the maximum which shall be demanded of the very wealthiest class of trierarchs shall be the equipment and maintenance of three ships and a boat, ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἢ λειτουργία ἔστω. Perhaps this ὑπηρετικόν might contend in the races, and if so the credit it won would naturally devolve on the trierarch responsible for it. But another passage, in a speech of Lysias, seems to show that the furnishing of a ship for the races was a liturgia quite separate from the trierarchy. The orator is giving a list of the public services of the wealthy Apollodorus, and mentions among these<sup>1</sup> first a trierarchy lasting seven years, and costing six talents, and then, after its expiry, a victory with a trireme in the races, at a cost of fifteen minae, νενίκηκα δὲ τριήρει μὲν ἀμιλλώμενος ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ, ἀναλώσας πεντεκαίδεκα μνᾶς.

With races of triremes our monument can scarcely have any connection. But it may well have reference to a victory in a race of ὑπηρετικά, tender-boats used in the navy. One of these is mentioned by Demosthenes<sup>2</sup> as coming with despatches from Thasos to Methone. Thucydides<sup>3</sup> speaks of boats, λεπτὰ πλοῖα, as accompanying a Peloponnesian fleet: and we read in an Attic inscription of ἀκάτοι δημοσίου which seem to have been small undecked vessels. But no sea-going boats in Greece would have so small a complement of rowers as eight: and it is likely that in the case of our monument the number of rowers is merely conventional, so that we are not justified in supposing that the Greeks ever had racing eight-oared boats.

The date of our relief is not easy to fix without the help of an inscription. The rudeness of the work and the decay of the surface deprive us even of the evidence of style. It dates probably from the Roman age, but does not seem to be very late in that age: possibly it may even date from the later Hellenistic period.

PERCY GARDNER.

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<sup>1</sup> *Apologia*, xxi. 5. Cf. Boeckh, *Public Demosthenes*, c. 29. *Economy of Athens* (Eng. trans.) ii. 213.

<sup>3</sup> ii. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Adv. Polyclem*, p. 1220. Cf. Plutarch,

## NOTES IN PHRYGIA PAROREUS AND LYCAONIA.

THE following pages contain the meagre results of a hasty journey from the borders of Galatia to the Cilician coast, undertaken in July, 1887, by Mr. H. A. Brown and myself, after parting at Bey-keui with Prof. W. M. Ramsay, who wished to return direct to Smyrna. Our object was to reach Cilicia Tracheia by way of Phrygia Paroreus, and the Melas valley, pursuing in the former district a new route and especially selecting the unmapped and undescribed hill-path from Ilghin to Konia. From Konia we were to have turned westward to Beysheher, and thence struck over Taurus. But only the first part of this programme was carried out at all, owing to the indisposition of my companion, which became so serious by the time that we reached Konia that all idea of further exploration had to be abandoned, and we made direct for the sea. In another respect also the journey was not entirely satisfactory. I now know better than I knew then that an archæologist, who would discover much in Anatolia, must travel with a certain train of pack-animals and attendants: the Englishman who, proud of his power of endurance, discards all superfluities and travels with what he can carry on his own horse excites no admiration but much contempt in the minds of the villagers. "This is a poor man," say they, and he is shown only just as much of what he wishes to see as will silence his importunity. We had made the initial mistake of travelling too "light," taking neither tents nor beds, nor cooking utensils, nor indeed anything but the contents of our own saddle-bags, and depending entirely on the favour of the villagers both for lodging and food; and in consequence, while we suffered a good deal of unnecessary hardship, we saw less than might have been discovered by explorers more magnificently equipped.

Partly on this account, and partly because certain points in the inscriptions which we found were obscure, I delayed the publication of any account of the journey in the hope that either Mr. Ramsay or myself might be able to revisit the district in 1888 or 1889, and perhaps find something of greater value; but as that was found to be impossible, and as it is very doubtful whether we shall be in that part of Anatolia in 1890, I have decided to publish our results.

They consist, first, of thirty-one inscriptions, three of which are partly in the late Phrygian dialect; but as none have any topographical value, and the majority are epitaphs of the most commonplace order, I have relegated them all to the end of the paper. Secondly, I made a route map from Boluwodun

(Polybotus) to Konia, published herewith, which has some geographical value, as the Paroreus has only been once indifferently surveyed, and of the hill-road from Ilghin to Konia no map at all is, I believe, in existence. Thirdly, I collected a few notes and observations which may be stated first as in some degree explanatory of the map.

We left Afion Kara Hissar on July 3rd, and rode to Fellelü, a large village, five hours distant, lying a little to the left of the direct track to Boluwodun. I copied again two inscriptions built into a bridge, one and a quarter hours from our starting-point, and read previously by Prof. W. M. Ramsay (*Athen. Mittheil.*, 1882, p. 130, and *J.H.S.*, 1887, p. 493), but my copies merely confirm his. In Fellelü we found four inscriptions (Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5), two partly in late Phrygian, but saw no other remains. Thence to Boluwodun is four hours' journey over a grassy plain.

From Boluwodun (Polybotus) I began my map, following at first the modern road which here crosses the valley at right angles the sooner to strike the post-road from Kutuya and Afion Kara Hissar to Konia at Tchai. But a more direct track leaves Boluwodun on the east, and keeps close under the Emir Dagh on the same side of the valley; and skirting the marshes of the Eber Göl, crosses a low spur, and passes along the firm northern shore of the Aksheher Göl. At the north-eastern corner it falls into a road from the Plains, and proceeds round the Lake to the town of Aksheher (Philomelium). We struck into this track on the third day after leaving Boluwodun, when, attracted by a mendacious report of a "written stone" at Ütchkuyu, we recrossed the valley from Saklü. At the corner of the Aksheher Göl we saw by the roadside considerable traces of foundations, apparently those of an isolated villa; and, in a little modern cemetery hard by, an inscribed stele (No. 8).

The plain between the Aksheher and Eber Lakes is at all times very marshy and to a great extent under water in winter, a fact which accounts for the circuit made by this northern track to Aksheher. The ordinary road, however, passes to the west of the Eber Lake, being carried for some distance along paved causeways, elevated above the marsh,<sup>1</sup> and joins the great post-road just east of Tchai.

Tchai has been generally identified with Xenophon's Caystri Pedium; Mr. Ramsay would also place at or near it, Ipsus, which declined in importance during the Roman period in comparison with the lower town of Julia<sup>2</sup> (Saklü), with which it appears to have shared a bishop.<sup>3</sup> That the battle of Ipsus at any rate took place higher up the valley than Saklü appears probable on all grounds. Diodorus (xx. 109 foll.) has furnished us with a sufficient account of the preliminary operations in the autumn of 302 to make it fairly clear where the different kings wintered before the decisive struggle. Lysimachus was not far from Heraclea Pontica; Seleucus was in Cappadocia;

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the description given by the archdeacon Paul of his journey with the Patriarch Macarius from Sakla to 'Belaidon' (*Travels of Macarius*, tr. for the Orient. Trans. Committee, p. 8).

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* v. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Lucian of Ipsus signs at Chalcedon in 451 A.D.

Antigonus somewhere in Western Phrygia, probably near Synnada, whither he had retired after the escape of Lysimachus from Dorylaeum. The natural point of convergence is the western end of Paroreus, and a great battle in which elephants, chariots, and cavalry played a large part, must have been fought where the plain is both level and dry. Below Saklı the overflow of the two lakes renders the whole centre of the valley marshy; but west of the Eber Göl stretches a great grassy expanse, admirably suited to military purposes. Out of it, close to Tchali, rise two large tumuli, apparently unopened, which it is tempting to refer to the battle: but others are to be seen at intervals both up and down the valley.

At the foot of the Sultan Daglı lie a succession of prosperous villages, all possessed of perennial streams and fine orchards of apricots, figs, and pomegranates, becoming more and more luxuriant as Aksheher is neared. Yassian, with its "Fount of Midas," is quite a paradise among Anatolian settlements. But the opposite side of the valley shows a marked contrast; here are only a few *tchifliks*, and two or three new Turcman and Yuruk villages. Water is very scarce, and trees non-existent. The Sultan Daglı falls to a line of low hills which bound the Great Plains, and partake of the bareness and sterility of the latter. But, knowing that this side of Paroreus was untrodden ground, we crossed the valley on July 6th, paid a fruitless visit to Ütchükuyu, a Turcman village among the foot-hills, and then returned to the Lake and visited the unimportant ruins, mentioned above, at its north-western corner. Thence we followed the track along the northern shore, noticing many caves in the line of low cliffs, at the foot of which we were proceeding, and lay (but did not sleep) supperless and waterless at Yuruk-keui. In a Turcman village—Korashlı—we found next day some inscribed stelæ (Nos. 9, 10), but nothing to fix its ancient name,<sup>1</sup> nor did we see or hear of anything of importance before rejoining the post-road at Ilghin (Tyriaeum) by way of Tchaoushji, whose crops seemed to have suffered from the drought in a far less degree than any other village which we visited that summer.

Ilghin is a straggling town lying along the post-road, possessed of three fine mosques, two khans, and the ruins of some fine baths and a khan of the Seljuk period. Built into walls and scattered about in the cemeteries are many stelæ of the Byzantine period, while the door-posts of the principal mosque are made of fragments of an inscribed cornice, bearing mutilated Christian inscriptions and medallions of St. Basil and St. Nicholas. All that I copied are published at the end of this paper (Nos. 11-16), but they add nothing to our knowledge of Tyriaeum.

From this point the post road to Konia, *viâ* Yorgan Ladik (Laodicea Combusta), diverges from the direct hill-path. The latter was traversed by the late Colonel J. D. H. Stewart, when resident in Konia, but his map and description are no longer in existence. We therefore chose it, and left Ilghin on July 9th, crossed the semicircular plain where Cyrus held his review

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<sup>1</sup> Bardaetta, where Bardas Phokas was encamped in 971 (Leo Diac. p. 120), might be near here.

(*Anab.* i. 2, 14), and struck into the hills at a point two hours distant, near a water-mill on the right and a new Tcherkess village on the left. Three-quarters of an hour previously we had passed the rich village of Sardu-keui, destitute of antiquities. An hour's climb brought us to an undulating plateau, bounded on the right by a high mountain chain, a continuation of the Sultan Dagħ, and on the left declining gradually to the Great Plains which stretched away as far as the eye could see. Under the mountains on the right we could see another path, coming from the direction of Aksheher, converging towards our own, but not joining it until it reached Kunderaz. This is no doubt the old route from Thymbrium to Iconium, *viâ* Caballa (W.M.R., *Hist. of the Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 140). Two hours brought us to Osmanjik, where 'ruins' were reported, but proved to consist of some boulders rolled down from the hill-side; but, staying there the night, we found several stelae, though of no interest (Nos. 17-20). In one and a half hours next morning we reached Kunderaz, the last village before the pass over the mountain-chain, noticed the day before on the right. In the grave-yard were three stelae (Nos. 21-23), and in a little cemetery twenty minutes farther on towards the pass, on the left of the track, others had been utilized, including one with the usual Phrygian formula (Nos. 3 and 24-27).<sup>1</sup> There must, therefore, have been some large village in Roman times upon this well-watered plateau, but I could hear of no ruins nor of any site.

From this point as far as Konia antiquarian interest ceases, but the grandeur of the scenery through which the track lies atones for its absence. After climbing the steep northern slope through dense forest and crossing the watershed, it descends in a southerly direction a gorge which gradually narrows until there is only room for the path and stream. About an hour and a half from the head of the pass the path turns sharply to the left, and, climbing the side of the gorge, continues for two and a half hours more south-east over stony uplands, broken by deep water-courses, now dry. On the right stretches a wild waste of mountains towards Pisidia, and before the traveller rise several peaks which mark the edge of the plateau towards the Great Plains. Passing a well, the first water for many miles, the road now enters a gradually-deepening gorge, and reaches in three-quarters of an hour the large village of Tat-keui. Hence to Konia by Sirlé is a matter of three hours, making the whole time from Ilghin by the hill-path fifteen hours or (approximately) fifty-two and a half miles. On first seeing Konia from the hills above, the traveller is struck at once by its open and weak position, lying as it does out on the plain, and undefended by any natural citadel; and equally by its apparent size. On approaching he will soon see that modern Iconium very meagrely fills out its ancient framework: large tracts inside the broken walls are uninhabited and left to offal and the dogs that eat it, and it is long before he reaches the really living part of the city. But it is still a place of great importance, and

<sup>1</sup> I brought away readings of five: of three other stelae I found it impossible to make anything in the time at my disposal, for, my companion being very unwell, we were most anxious

to reach Konia, and were still five hours from Tat-keui. Every stele in this cemetery was much weathered, and I doubt if more will ever be read.

likely to increase if the Ottoman Railway penetrates east of Dineir, and it will perhaps lose its present character as the most exclusively Mahometan of all Turkish towns. Of early Iconium very little indeed seems to remain, and that little is hidden away in houses and courtyards, as is invariably the case in cities whose greatness has been continuous to our own day, *e.g.*, Smyrna and Constantinople.

As has been already stated, Mr. Brown's ill-health now made it imperative to give up further exploration and make for the sea by the quickest route. This, we were assured, was the new road constructed by Said Pacha *viâ* Karaman to Selefke, and we therefore sold our horses and procured an *araba*, or native springless cart, which is at once a quicker method of conveyance, and one more suited to an invalid. In this we left Konia on July 14th, having experienced much kindness from Mr. Keun, agent of the Ottoman Bank, and M. Guise, of Smyrna.

For about seven hours we traversed the plain, stopping only at midday at the village of Tchoumra, and so far our vehicle ran comparatively easily on the sandy soil by the side of the new highway, of which we were presently to have ample experience, when unwillingly compelled to take to it upon Taurus. An hour more over low hills brought us to a devrent, or watch-house, where was a late sepulchral stele (No. 28), and two hours and a quarter away from the line of the main road to our night-quarters at Karkhan, where I was shown three rude stelae of the uninteresting type, common in Southern Lycaonia (Nos. 29-31). Next day we rejoined the road at Kassaba, passing some ruins and sarcophagi near the village of Masallah. The mediaeval walls of Kassaba (the 'Pyrgos' reached by Barbarossa, May 29, on his march to Selefke. *V. Ramsay, Hist. Geog. A. M.* p. 346), made of flat stones without mortar, are still almost entire, and there is a fine arabesque bath; but, except on bazaar day, it might be a city of the dead. Above it towers a splendid peak, called variously the Masallah or Hadji Baba Dag, which had been in sight since leaving Konia, and would continue to be a conspicuous object for two days more. Some miles away to the north-east was an equally high, but more massive mountain—the Kara Dag. Three hours later we were in Karaman, or Laranda, in these days a rapidly-declining town. The castle which guards the approach from Konia is in almost perfect preservation, built in the same manner as the walls of Kassaba. In the street below stands incomparably the most beautiful Seljuk relic that I have seen—a mere wreck of elaborate arabesque tracery and harmoniously blended marbles. It is now a school, but must have been a more than usually palatial khan; and it may be added to those splendid buildings at Konia, Sultan Khan (as Mr. Ramsay has told me), and elsewhere, which, like the Lusignan ruins in Cyprus, far outshine any remains of Graeco-Roman civilization. I could find almost no traces of the latter class in Karaman. A single rude stele is built into the castle wall, together with some fragments of Byzantine carving, but I heard of nothing more.

South and east of the town rise the first slopes of Taurus, of which the Masallah and Kara Dags are mighty buttresses; and over the chain has



been made a new waggon road, leading directly from Karaman to Selefke, and touching no human habitation between these points, except the hamlet of Maghra. It followed apparently the line of no ancient highway (see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 362), avoiding as it does both Diocaesarea and Olba, and had probably not been traversed from end to end by any western travellers before ourselves, Colonel Stewart having followed it only to Maghra. Thus it happens that the great ruins which lie on the opposite side of a cañon between Maghra and Selefke (in sight six hours from the former), and which are probably those of Olba, had never been observed. Our times for the road agree fairly well with those of Colonel Stewart, viz. seventeen and a quarter hours from Karaman to Maghra, a distance stated by him at fifty and a half miles. True that we were travelling in an *araba*, and made fairly fast time for the twenty-one miles from the summit (6,100 feet), down to Maghra (4,590 feet), but this was quite counter-balanced by the long climb of twenty-nine miles from Karaman.

The road is finely engineered but badly constructed in many parts, and much of it was not yet metalled when we traversed it; and the horrors of a springless *araba*, bounding over the boulders which form the foundation of the track, can be better imagined than described. Water is very scarce; a fountain, two hours out of Karaman, and another, of not much volume, five hours further still, being all the sources that we found or heard of between Karaman and Maghra; and this scarcity, coupled with the absence of human habitation or shade for a distance of nearly fifty miles, must militate against the success of the road. Indeed, we were assured that it was not much used, the other routes by the Cilician Gates to Mersina, or by Karaman and Ermenek to Selefke, being preferred as means of communication between Konia and the sea.

For three hours from Karaman the road climbs steeply until the traveller reaches the edge of a great plateau, shelving upwards as far as the eye can reach, and naked as the Sahara. A line of low summits rises from it on his left, and in clefts here and there a scanty vegetation survives. After passing the second fountain the rocky hideousness of the landscape increases, and nothing relieves the dreary waste of crag upon crag, no one point standing out above another on the horizon. The Taurus at this point (as may be seen from Cyprus) is a vast level-crested ridge, falling to the sea in a succession of parallel shelves, and pleasing the eye by no variety of outline.

After this desert the beautiful upland valley, in which lies Maghra (a mere roadside station), is singularly attractive, and from thence to Selefke the road lies through thick forest and gorges of marvellous beauty. In these southern cañons hemmed in by perpendicular crags, at whose base stretches on either hand a dense belt of forest, a vegetation of almost tropical luxuriance is nourished by the refraction of the heat from the walls and the mists which rise nightly from the Cilician plain.

Maghra has been visited by Mr. Sterrett, and he has published the only inscriptions to be found there. We were told by a ragged Greek (who possessed a tattered copy of Strabo) that a ruined city, containing an amphi-

theatre, existed five hours away, to the left of the road we should travel next day; but he assured us (as did the *khanji*) that Mr. Sterrett had visited it. My companion's condition had not been improved by the jolting of the last two days, and we therefore determined not to turn out of our way to find it, as that would also make it impossible to reach Selefke in a day; and we were told that we should be obliged to abandon the *araba*. We accordingly passed the point from which the only track led to the ruins, and drove on for three hours, when, on emerging from the pine forest into the last shelf above the plain, we saw, across a deep cañon on whose western brink runs the road, the city clearly marked against the skyline. So striking was this sudden effect, that, anxious as we were to reach Selefke, still three hours distant, we debated with our *arabaji* the possibility of descending into the cañon, but he knew of no path, nor could we see one, and we proceeded reluctantly on our way.<sup>1</sup>

The last slopes above the Selefke plain are strewn with ruins, and the cliffs are honeycombed with tombs. Some are cut out of the rock, others built up with columned *façades*—either Doric tetrastyle, or similar to a small temple in antis. They are in many cases inscribed, and a systematic exploration of the dense undergrowth would reveal great numbers of unpublished texts; but many hours, if not days, would be required, and the fast-declining sun warned us to hurry on, and reserve this site, like the former, for a future journey, unsatisfactory as it was to leave so much undone. The tombs must be those of Seleucians, and the other ruins represent an outlying dependency, perhaps a summer residence of the wealthier inhabitants of the city below.

From Selefke, on the right bank of the Calycadnus, which even in July rushes with great speed and a large volume of water through the arches of the fine bridge, we drove in rather less than two hours to Akliman, its miserable port, built on the edge of a marsh, fever-stricken and mosquito-ridden; and thence embarked in a coasting steamer, two days later, for Smyrna.

*Inscriptions in the late Phrygian Dialect.*—I place first three inscriptions in the still obscure dialect which appears to have been spoken in the eastern portion of Phrygia and in Lycaonia up to the fifth or sixth centuries

<sup>1</sup> So far as Professor Ramsay or I have been able to ascertain, no one has ever seen or visited these ruins; certainly not Mr. Sterrett, who, as a matter of fact, never traversed this part of the road at all: but of that I was ignorant at the time. It is just possible that the site is that called Kannideli by M. Langlois, who travelled in 1853 (*Voyages dans la Cilicie*, pp. 220-7; cp. Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage Arch.* tome iii. p. 365); but his rather scanty indications as to the locality of Kannideli, which he reached from Lamas, do not accord well with this position: he identified Kannideli with Neapolis of Isauria. In any case his notes require supplementing.

But I feel fairly confident that, if we succeed in visiting it this summer, we shall be the first to do so, and shall find that it is the long-lost Olba. [Since this note has been in type I see in the *Athenaeum* of April 5, p. 443, that Mr. Theodore Bent has found either this city or a fort in its territory, and the dedication to Zeus Olbius, which he mentions, proves the general situation of Olba to be where we guessed: but, if Mr. Bent's 'fort' is only twenty stadia inland from Coryeus, it is probably neither Olba itself nor the city alluded to in the text above, which appeared to me to lie quite six or seven miles back from the coast.]

A.D., and which is doubtless the 'speech of Lycaonia,' in which the men of Lystra spoke of Paul and Barnabas (Acts xiv. 11). For a 'Corpus' of these strange texts I must refer the reader to Prof. W. M. Ramsay's 'Late Phrygian Inscriptions,' in Kühn's *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschungen*, 1887. In the face of the great variety of formulae and words evidently employed, and of the fact that two or three of the known inscriptions are entirely couched in this dialect, it seems impossible to longer maintain the theory that only an imprecatory formula was so expressed, the better to please the ancestral divinities. It is more probable that here, as in the Maeander valley about Dionysopolis at the same period, Greek was the language only of the best educated Phrygians, and that it was recognised that, while a Greek epitaph was more distinguished, it was very necessary to add in the popular dialect warnings and imprecations to those of the vulgar who might indulge in tomb-rifling.

The second of these inscriptions I publish as I copied it, with very little attempt to fill its lacunae or interpret it.

The first two come from Fellelü, a village among the foot-hills of the Emir Dagħ, five hours' ride from Afium Kara Hissar, and four from Boluwodun, a couple of miles to the left of the main road between these towns. Prof. W. M. Ramsay has published similar texts from Prymnessus, four and a half hours distant from Fellelü. The third was found in a little roadside cemetery on the left of the hill-track which leads from Ilghin to Konia, at twenty minutes' distance from the village of Kunderaz, and just at the foot of the steep pass which leads to Tat-keui. Several other stelae in ordinary Greek had been utilized there as tomb-stones, and, with others, found in the graveyard of Kunderaz itself, are published in this paper.

1. Fellelü: on a door-tomb, broken top and right, and now built into a courtyard wall.

.....IN  
 .....CNICEM OYNKNOY.....  
 ANEIKAKOYNAΔΔAKETAINIA.....

.....  
 χάρ]ιν.

Ἰ]ος νι σεμουν κνου[μ-

ανει κακουν ἀδδακετ αἶνια [ἐτίτετικμενος εἶτον?

The inscription appeared to be irregularly distributed upon the stone. The space between M and O in line 2 is filled by an erasure. This text adds nothing to our knowledge, the formula being that most commonly employed.

2. Fellelü: on a door-tomb of which three panels remain; in the upper two are female figures, and in the lower one a wheatsheaf. The stone is half buried in packed earth, upside down, and thus the first lines and much of the

right-hand portion cannot be seen. The Phrygian part of the lettering is smaller and more crowded.

ΑΥΤΟΚΛΑ////

ΚΑΙ////ΡΟΝΟΥ . ΤΕ////

ΧΑΡΙΝΙΟCΝΙCΕΜΟΝ////

. ΑΙCΑΤΡΑ . . . ΤΗ

ΜΕΛΩCΚΕ . Ε . CΜΕΚΟΝΝΟΥΚΕΙCΝΙΟ . . . . ?

ΑΙΠΑΡΤΗC

[Ὁ δείνα τοῦ δέινος ἀνέστησε]

αὐτὸς κα[ὶ ἡ δείνα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ζῶντες

καὶ [φ]ρονοῦ[ν]τε[ς τῷ δέινι τῷ τέκνῳ μνήμης

χάριν. Ἴος νι σεμον [κνονμανει κακουν ἀδδακετ αἰν-

ι]αι? σα . . . . . [ . . . . . ζε-

μελως κε [δ]ε[ο]ς με κνονου κε ἰς νι . . . . .

αι παρτης

The word *αἰνιαι* appears also as *αἰνιοι*, and once as *αἰνιμ* (in Ramsay No. 25, which depends on Hamilton's copy only). *Σα* is found in No. 21, and probably in my third text, and is the definite article. To the word *τρα-* which follows there is no known parallel. I thought that I could read *ΙΙΝ* after the *Α*, but the marble was worn almost smooth at this point. *Ζεμελως* (usually *ζεμελω*, but with the final sigma in Ramsay, No. 25?) *κε δεος* is a common formula, but the signification to be given to *κνονου* and to the final words I leave to philologists to determine. It is much to be desired that some one should visit Felleli, prevail on the obdurate owner of this stone (or rather his wife) to allow its excavation, and should re-read it.

3. Road-side cemetery, a mile beyond Kunderaz: on a stele which has been much worn by exposure.

ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟC

ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΕΟC

ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟC

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩ

ΚΑΙΔΙΟΓΕΝΙΔΙ

ΚΑΙΙ ΕΙΛΕΙΑΔΙ

ΤΕΚΝΟΙCΜΝΗ

ΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝΚΑΙCΑ

ΤΕΙΡΗΓΥΝΑΙ

ΚΙΖΩCΗΙΟC

CATICK . . . . .

ΚΑΚΟΥΝΜΑΚΕΤΑ

ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟCΑ

ΤΙΑΔΕΙΤΟC

Ἀμμώνιος

Πατροκλέος

ἀπελεύθερος

Ἀλεξάνδρῳ

καὶ Διογενίδι

καὶ (Μ)ειλειάδι

τέκνοις μνή-

μης χάριν καὶ Σα-

τείρῃ γυναι-

κὶ ζώσῃ. Ἴος

σα τις κ[νονμανει

κακουν μακετα

τετικμενος ἄ-

τιαδ εἶτος?

The Phrygian portion of this presents some unusual features: the omission of *ν* is not rare, but the insertion of *τις* between *σα* and (presumably) its substantive is hard to explain. *Μακετα* must be identical in origin with the *μεκατι* and *μανκατι* found previously, and should be a verb; I was quite certain that the first letter was not ΑΔ, which suggests itself as the beginning of *ἀδακετ*, nor should we expect to find a final *α* to that word. The next word seems to be the simple form always found hitherto as *ἐτιτετικμενος*: but as *ἐτιμεκατι* has also been found, it is quite possible that the *ἐτι* is an independent word, and not a compounded particle. As to the final letter of *εἶτος* I had no doubt, but a Υ is rather to be expected; and likewise I saw no Σ at the end of the penultimate line, and read *ἀτιαδ*, not *ἀ(σ)τιαδ*.

4. Fellelü: on a small marble altar-stele built into a flight of steps. The top is much broken and the base is covered in. The letters of the last lines are crowded.

////////Α/////////ΙΟΥ////////ΑΙ////////  
 ΠΑΤΕΙΑΣ ΑΙΧΙΝΗ////  
 ///ΑΙ/////////Ω////////\II///  
 ΠΑΠΑΤΟΥΚΑΙΧΑΙΤΟΥ  
 ΥΠΕΡΤΗΤΩΝΚ////Τ////C////  
 ΩΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝ  
 ΑΙΩΝΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΜΟ  
 ΝΗΣΚΑΙ ΝΕΙΚΗΣ  
 //ΑΙΤΩΝ////////ΚΑΙΠΟ//  
 //ΙΚΑΙ

[ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ δεινός] ἀν[θυ-  
 πατείας Αἰσχίνης  
 . . . . .  
 Παπᾶ τοῦ καὶ Χαίτου  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κ[ρα]τ[ί]σ[τ]-  
 ων Αὐτοκρατόρων  
 αἰωνίου διαμο-  
 νῆς καὶ ν<ε>ίκης  
 κ]αὶ τῶν . . . καὶ πο[λιτ]-  
 ῶν καὶ . . .

It is not easy to find a suitable short word to supply in line 9: if the restoration of the next words is correct, *τελῶν* 'the magistrates' might serve. But, as it is, I have thought it best not to supply anything: whoever succeeds in dislodging the stone from its present position will doubtless read the concluding lines without difficulty.

5. Fellelü: a door-tomb very rudely engraved, and built into a wall: complete.

THCAMMIAC . A .  
 . . NTEKNΩNAYTHC

Τῆς Ἀμμίας [κ]α[ὶ]  
 τῶ]ν τέκνων αὐτῆς.

6. Tchayül: rudely engraved on a small stone stele; the letters quite clear.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ  
 ΣΥΓΝΗΜΝΗ  
 ΔΕΙΠΕΤΑΡΗ  
 ΕΥΧΗΝ

Δημήτριος  
 Συγνήμνη ?  
 Δεὶ Πεταρῇ  
 εὐχῇν.

The dedication is as badly spelt as carved. Zeus Petaraeus is known also from an inscription found by Professor W. M. Ramsay in 1883, and published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1887, 'Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,' p. 501. Petara was a village in the territory of Orcistus (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. A. M.*, p. 236) situated at the modern Baghlije. This little stele, only about a foot square, may have been conveyed thus far on the road to Konia by some travelling merchant who entertained an exaggerated idea of its value. It was brought to me loose.

7. Saklı: below a fragment of marble pediment, displaying three horsemen meeting three others; behind on the right two unmounted figures: broken at both ends. The execution is poor and the lettering late.

ΙΙCΑCYNIOICEΠΙΖΕΖ ΗΜΕΝΟΙCΘΕΟΙCΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙCΛ

. . . . ἐτίμ]ησα σὺν (τ)οῖς ἐπιξεζήμενοις θεοῖς ἀθανάτοις . . . .

The space between Z and Η is filled by an erasure. The strange word ἐπιξεζήμενοις must be a perfect participial form from ἐπιζάω, and signify 'the immortal gods who have lived for ever,' a loose use, possible in Phrygia.

8. In a little graveyard at the north-western corner of the Akshcher Lake, and an hour and a quarter from Ütchkuyu; a small stele.

ΜΑΡΚΟCΚΑΙΡΗ  
ΓΕΙΝΑΙΔΙΑΘΡΕ  
ΠΤΗΜΝΗΜΗC  
ΧΑΡΙΝ

Μάρκος καὶ Ρη-  
γεῖνα ἰδίᾳ θρε-  
πτῇ μνήμης  
χάριν.

9. Korashlü: on a door-tomb, now in the courtyard of a house.

ΜΑΝΗΣΤΩΙΔΙΩΠΑΤΡΙ  
ΑΠΠΑΕΝΕΚΕΜΝΗΜΗC

Μάνης τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρὶ  
'Αππαῖ ἔνεκε μνήμης.

For the name 'Αππας cp. W. M. Ramsay's article 'Laodicea Combusta and Sinethandos,' inscr. Nos. 24, 64, and 98 (*Athen. Mitth.* xiii.). Many of the less usual names in the following inscriptions may be paralleled from that article, which affords a long list of late Lycaonian appellatives.

10. Korashlü: left half of a stele built into a wall.

ΑΥΡΑΡΜ  
ΠΟΝΠΩΝ  
ΤΕΚΝΕΔ  
ΠΙΑΜΝΗ  
ΡΙΝ

Αὐρ. Ἀρμ[ένιος? καὶ  
Πονπων[ία τοῖς  
τέκν(οι)ς Δ[ίᾳ? καὶ Ἀ-  
πίᾳ μνήμης χά-  
ριν.

11. Ilghin (Tyriaeum): a sarcophagus in the courtyard of the Khan, broken on the left.

////ΝΘΑΚΑΤΑ	Ἔ]νθα κατὰ-
////-ΕΟΛΥΝ	κει]τε Ὀλύν-
////ΑΠΟΠΡΙ	πιος] ἀπὸ πρι-
ΙΡΙΩΝΚΕ	μικ]ηρίων· κὲ
CHCEN	ἀνέ]στησεν
ΥΙΟΣΑΥ	τόδ' ὁ] υἱὸς αὐ-
HCM	τοῦ Μάν]ης μ-
ΑΡΙΝ+	νήμης χ]άριν +.

12. In the right-hand wall of the sunken way leading to the door of the principal mosque: very rudely cut, and broken at the bottom.

ΡΗΓΕΙΝΑ	Ρηγεῖνα μητῆρ Ὑδρίῃ Π(απ)ᾶ
ΜΗΤΗΡΥΔ	γλυκυτάτῃ υ[ίῳ] μνήμη[ς] χάριν.
ΙΩΠΑΤΑΓΛΥ	
ΚΥΤΑΤΩΥ	
ΜΝΜΗ	

13. Copied by lamplight from the roof of a species of cell on the left-hand side of the mosque-door: in large well-cut characters.

ΦΟΥΛΙΟΣΚΛΕΙΣ////	Φούλ(β)ιος Κλει(ώ) Εὐσέβιος
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣΙΔΙΟΥ	(Ἑ)δίου Αὐρηλίας Θεοδότῃ τῇ
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΘΕΟ	γλυκυτάτῃ μου συμβίῳ καὶ
ΔΟΤΗΤΗΓΛΥΚ	ἐαυτῷ ζῶν μνήμης χάριν.
ΥΤΑΤΗΜΟΥΣΥΜ	
ΒΙΩΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩ	
ΖΩΝΜΝΗΜΗ	
Σ+ΑΡΙΝ	

Κλειώ for Κλεώ is also found *C.I.G.* 2610 and 6396.

14. In the wall over the cell door.

ΜΑΡΚΣ ΦΜΕΝ	Μάρκος Μεν(ε)
ΜΑΧΣΥΔΟΥ	μάχο<ς>υ Δού-
ΔΑΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ	δα γυναικί
ΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ	μνήμης χάριν.

I have corrected thus on Professor W. M. Ramsay's suggestion, as Δοῦδα is a well-known Lycaonian name, and prothetic *ι* or *υ* occurs frequently in

such inscriptions, though generally before double consonants. Still the  $\Sigma$  *lie* at the end of *Μενεμαχο* seemed quite certain when I copied the inscription.

15. In the wall of the precinct of the mosque in well-cut characters.

ΑΥΡΟΡΕCΤΙΝΑ	Αὐρ(ηλία) Ὀρεστεῖνα
ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΕΩΝΟC	θυγάτηρ (Εὐ)ωνος
ΚΕΟΥΙΟ///CΜΟΥ	κὲ ὁ υἱ(ός) μου
ΜΑΡΚΕΛΟC	Μάρκελος
ΑΝΕCΤΗΑ	ἀνεστήσα-
ΜΕΝΤΩΛΥΚΥ	μεν τῷ γλυκυ-
ΤΑ <sup>ω</sup> ΜΟΥΑΝΔΡΙ	τάτῳ μου ἀνδρὶ
ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΩ	Καλλιμάχῳ
ΜΗΜΕΧΑΡΙΝ	μνήμης χάριν.

16. In the large cemetery south-east of the town: above the lettering a horse pursued by a dog, and above that again four full-length figures, two adults and two children, rudely carved.

ΕΥΓΕΝΙΑΜΑΝΟ	Εὐγενία Μανουσᾶ ἀνδρὶ
CΑΑΝΔΡΙΜΝΗΜΗC	μνήμης χάριν καὶ ἑαυτῇ ζῶσα.
ΧΑΡΙΝΚΑΙΕΑΥ	
ΤΗΖΩCΑ	

*Μανοσοῦ* is read in *C.I.G.* 3989, *h.* Names from the root *Μαν* are common in this district, cp. *Μανία* in No. 22; *Μάνης* in 10 and 24; and *Μάνα* in the latter also. See *W.M.R.*, 'Laodicea Combusta,' &c., *passim*.

17. *Osmanjik*: well cut on a stele, broken left top and bottom, and now built into the wall of the mosque-precinct.

CΟΥCΟΥΚ	Σούσου κ[αὶ
ΜΑΝΙΑΗΓ	Μανία ἡ γυ[νὴ]
ΑΥΤΟΥCΟΥ	αὐτοῦ Σού-
CΟΥΕΚΝΩ	σου τέκνῳ
ΜΗΜΗCΧΑ	μνήμης χά-
ΡΙΝΚΑΙCΑΥ	ριν κ(αὶ) ἑαυ-
	τοῖς ζῶσιν)

18. *Osmanjik*: cut in very shallow letters on a marble block, much chipped.

ΚΟΝΩΝ	Αὐρ. ?] Κόνων
ΡΕCΒ	π]ρεCβ[ύ-
ΕΡΟC	τ]ερος [ἰ
ΝΕCΤΗ	νέCτη[σ-



ΑΤΟΥΓ /	<i>a</i> τοῦ γλ[υκ-
ΥΤΑΤΟΥ	υτάτου [μ-
ΥΥΕΙΟΥ	ο]υ ὑειοῦ [κὲ
ΛΥ//ΓΥΙΙΝ	ἐμ]αυ(το)ῦ (μ)ν-
ΜΗΧΑ	ή]μης χά-
Ν	ρι]ν

19. In the wall of a house, broken at the top.

ΙΜΑΝΛΑΔΕ	<i>Ἰμαν Λάδεος Παπᾶ ἀδελφῶ μνήμης</i>
ΟΣΠΑΠΑ	<i>χάριν.</i>
ΔΕΛΦΩΜΗ	
ΜΗΧΑΡΙΝ	

20. In the wall of a house : above the inscription a relief representing a sitting lion, a female standing, and a sheaf ; the lettering much worn.

ΜΑΝΗCΜΕΝΟΙΤΟΥ	<i>Μάνης Μενοιτοῦ Μανία γυναικὶ</i>
ΜΑΝΙΑΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΜΝΗ	<i>μνήμης χάριν.</i>
ΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ	

21. Kunderaz : in the village graveyard ; a stele intentionally defaced and very difficult to decipher.

ΞΕΝΙΚΟCΚΕ	<i>Ξενικὸς κὲ</i>
ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝΠΡ	<i>Μακεδῶν πρ-</i>
ΟΓΟΝΙΕCΤΗCΑ	<i>ογονι(κὸν) ἔστησα-</i>
Μ////ΝΗΠΑΤ////ΑΠΟ	<i>(ν) Μ[ά]νη πατ[ρί] πο[ι]-</i>
ΗΤΩ ΜΝΗCΧΑΡΙΝ	<i>ητῶ μνήμης χάριν.</i>

Xenicus and Macedon erect a tomb to the memory of their stepfather ; he is called *ποιητός*, as opposed to *γόνυ πατήρ*. The correction *προγονικόν* is Professor Ramsay's : *πρόγον(ο)ι* is just conceivable. The sons' names sound strange in Lycaonia, and have probably resulted from the father and mother becoming hellenised.

22. *Ibid* : a stele bearing above the inscription a female figure half length, with hands clasped in the attitude of prayer ; on her left is a basket, on her right a loom.

ΤΑΤΑCΒΑΜΗΤΡΙ	<i>Τατᾶς Βᾶ μητρὶ</i>
ΜΝΗΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ	<i>μνήμης χάριν.</i>

*Bᾶ* is from the feminine form of *Bᾶς* (see Pape *s.v.*), cp. *Tᾶς* so frequent in Lycaonian inscriptions (see 'Laodicea Combusta,' Nos. 47, 57, &c.).

23. *Ibid.*: carefully cut.

ΑΥΡΑΣΚΛΗΠ  
ΙΑΔΗΣΠΕΤΡ  
ΩΝΙΟΥΓΥΝΕ  
ΚΙΑΥΡΜΑΣΑ  
ΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩΖ  
ΩΝΑΝΕCΤΗ  
CΕΜΝΗΜΗCΕ  
ΝΕΚΕΝΘ

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀσκληπιάδης Πετρωνίου  
γυνεὲ Αὐρ(ηλία) Μάσα καὶ  
ἐαυτῷ ζῶν ἀνέστησε μνήμης  
ἔνεκεν.

24. *Ibid.*: below the inscription two full-length figures.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑ////  
ΟΥΙΑΖ////ΑΜΕΙΑ  
ΑΔΙΑΝΔΡΙΜΝΗΜ  
ΗCΧΑΡΙΝ

Αὐρηλία [Φλα]ουῖα ζ[ῶσ]α Μειλάδι  
ἀνδρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

25. *Ibid.*: broken at the top, rudely cut.

ΟΥΤΗ  
CΥΒΙΟCΠΑΥ  
ΑΛΚΕΜΗΝΟ  
ΔΩΡΟΥΤΟΥΤΕ  
ΚΝΟΥΜΟΥ  
ΑΝΕCΤΗCΑ  
ΜΝΗΜΗCΧΑ  
ΡΙΝ

Σούσ]ου τῇ συ(μ)βί(ο)υ Παύλα  
κὲ Μηνοδώρου τοῦ τέκνου μου  
ἀνέστησα μνήμης χάριν.

Badly cut and badly spelt: *συμβίου*, *Μηνοδώρου*, &c., are all intended for datives; cp. No. 18, *supra*, and note in Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. A. M.* p. 408, pointing out that this confusion begins in the third century A.D., and is very common in the fourth in Pisidia and Phrygia.

26. *Ibid.*

ΑΝΟΠΤΗCΟΥΑΛΕ  
ΡΙΑΡΩCΙΔΙΜΝΗΜΗ  
CΧΑΡΙΝΟΤΙΜΟΙΚΑ  
ΛΩCΑΙΔΙΑΚΟΝΗCΕΝ

Ἀνόπτης Οὐαλερία Ρωσίδι  
μνήμης χάριν ὅτι μοι καλῶς  
ἀ(ε)ὶ διακόνησεν.

Ἀνόπτης under the form Ἀνοπτος appears in *C.I.G.* 5860, *h*, as a name; Ρωσίς, like *Διογενίς* in No. 30, appears not to be found elsewhere, but new forms are to be expected in a remote valley of Lycaonia, and many forms (*e.g.* *Ζηωνίς*) may be compared from 'Laodicea Combusta.'

27. *Ibid.*, in the cemetery.

ΔΟΜΕΤΙΑC  
ΟΥCΟΥΤΩ  
ΑΝΔΡΙΜΝ  
ΗΜΗC////Α  
ΡΙΝΚΑΙΕΑΥ  
ΤΗΖΩCΑ

Δομετία Σούσου τῷ ἀνδρὶ μνήμης  
[χ]άριν καὶ ἑαυτῇ ζῶσα.

28. On a block of grey limestone serving for a seat in front of a watch-house on the high road between Tchoumra and Kassaba.

Ε . ΕΚΟCΜΗ . . . . . ΙΕΞΑΔΕΛΦΗΝΑΥ  
ΤΟΥ

ὁ δεῖνα] ἐκόσμη[σε τὴν δεῖνα τῇ]ν ἐξαδέλφην αὐ-  
τοῦ.

29. Kharkhan: on a large basaltic block near the Oda.

ΛΟΥΚΜΙΘΡΑC  
ΕΚΟCΜΕΙCΕΝΤΟΝ  
ΥΟΝΑΥΤΟΥΤΙΑΥΛ  
ΟΝ////////ΔΙ////

Λούκ(ιος) Μίθρας  
ἐκόσμεισεν τὸν  
υ(ί)δον αὐτοῦ Τίανλ-  
ον . . . . .

Τίουλος is a river name on coins of Prostanna Pisidia, as Professor Ramsay pointed out to me; and so the name may stand. (Π)αῦλον would be an obvious emendation.

30. *Ibid.* in the mosque-wall, much defaced.

////ΙΕCΤΩΙΕΚΟCΝ////////  
ΤΑΤΑΝΤΗΝ///Υ///ΑΙΙ////

(Ν)έCτω(ρ) ? ἐκόCμ[ησε  
Τάταν τὴν [γ]υ[ν]αῖ[κα].

There was another tablet also in the mosque-wall, but at a great elevation, upside down, and almost wholly defaced; and I could make nothing of it from below, even with a glass.

31. On a block lying in front of a house in the village, and worn almost smooth by long use as a seat.

////ΕΜΙCΩΙΙΚΑΙ////////ΡΙΑΕΚΟC  
ΜΗC////ΝΑΡΑΙΑΝΤΗΝ  
ΜΗΤΕΡΑΑΥΤ////////

[Θ]εμίCω(ν) καὶ [Ἀρ]ρια ἐκόC-  
μηC[α]ν Ἀρ(ρ)ίαν τὴν  
μητέρα αὐτ[ῶν].

D. G. HOGARTH.

## A PROTOKORINTHIAN LEKYTHOS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE little vase of which a coloured illustration is given on Plates I. and II. has already been laid before the Society with a brief notice in the last number of the *Journal*, p. 253 : before that publication appeared, it had already been the subject of articles in the *Classical Review* and the *Times*, so that most people are already aware of the melancholy interest which attaches itself to it. It was presented to the British Museum by Mr. Malcolm Macmillan in the spring of 1889, shortly before he started on the expedition which had so mysterious a termination. It was felt that the surpassing charm of this little Greek masterpiece was well worthy of any pains that could be bestowed on its reproduction ; and it is to the generosity of Mr. Macmillan's family that the Society owes the excellent facsimile which accompanies this paper.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of its diminutive proportions—it is only .068 mètre in height—this little lekythos will certainly henceforth rank among the *mirabilia* of our national collection. Its claims to distinction are based, not only upon its intrinsic merit as a *chef d'œuvre* of art, but also on the fact that, belonging to a highly interesting class of Greek painted pottery, it is beyond all doubt the most beautiful and important specimen of that class which has yet come down to us.

The material is a finely levigated clay of consistent texture and creamy yellow colour, such as we know was used in antiquity at any rate in the Corinthian potteries. On this ground the decoration is laid for the most part in a colour which varies, according to the thickness of the wash, from blackish brown to reddish brown : this is relieved by touches of purple here and there, and the details as well as the outlines of every figure are picked out with delicate incised lines. There is one peculiarity of technique about this vase which, so far as I know, is only found on this class of ware, and at present has only been noted upon one other example of it. In the main band of figures the flesh colour is indicated by a greyish black which in the original is quite distinguishable from the main wash : the only other example of this technique at present known is the little Protokorinthian lekythos in Berlin,<sup>2</sup> which is only second to our vase in point of delicacy and refined

<sup>1</sup> The reproduction issued in the preceding number of the *Journal* was too small to give an adequate impression of the style and colouring. The present plate moreover renders more suc-

cessfully the modelling of the lion's head, by which the vase is surmounted.

<sup>2</sup> *Berlin Vase Cat.*, No. 236.

execution. Both are marvellous illustrations of that largeness of style, carried out even in the minutest limit of size, which is one of the subtleties that critics of all times have associated with the best works of Greek art. The Greek gem and coin engravers of the best periods have this power in a remarkable degree; so that under their hands the effect of grandeur in composition is attained without any apparent effort. It would not be fair to expect, nor is it even desirable always, that such works should come out successfully under the test of actual mechanical enlargement, when this impression is aimed at: but it is interesting to see from the illustration that in the case before us even this test has been applied with a satisfactory result.

Figs. 1 and 2 give photographic views of the vase in its actual size; the remaining figs. represent details of the decoration, fig. 3 giving the pattern on the handle, fig. 4 that of the shoulder, 5 and 6 the bands which run around the body. All these were traced by Mr. Anderson and enlarged by photography to double their natural size. Fig. 7 represents, also double its natural size, the decoration under the foot, a rosette of eight petals which are coloured alternately purple and black.

Figs. 1 and 2. The form of the body of the vase corresponds with that which was the favourite shape among the Protokorinthian potters, and which was called lekythos, as we are told in the inscription on the vase of Tataie, also in the British Museum. A great number of Protokorinthian lekythi of this form and of almost universally the same size are known, but none, so far as I am aware, has the head and neck modelled otherwise than in the ordinary style, *i.e.* with a broad horizontal lip and vertical handle attached to it. Our vase has the body surmounted by the head of a lion, of which the open mouth forms the spout: the modelling of this head (which seems certainly to be freehand, and not cast in a mould) is wonderfully spirited and lifelike: as a rule in Greek art of a later period the finest lions' heads have a certain conventionality of treatment, brought about no doubt partly from the fact of their tectonic handling in architecture, and also because the artists had probably never seen an actual lion. This head reminds one much more of the animals on the Assyrian friezes of Kouyundjik, the artists of which had no doubt the advantage of study from the life. For a lifelike treatment of this animal in Greek art one must go to the Mykenaeen sword with the lion hunt, or later on to the little Protokorinthian lekythos of the Temple collection in the Museum, which must have been about contemporary with our vase: on the Temple vase we have two lions attacking a bull, and the herdsmen advancing to the rescue with spears and arrows: a realistic scene which can hardly have been developed entirely out of the imagination of the artist. In publishing the Temple vase, Furtwaengler (*Arch. Zeitung*, 41, p. 160) called attention to the statement of Herodotos that even in the days in which he wrote lions were still to be found in Macedonia and Northern Greece: but as they died out, the hunt of the Kalydonian bear was substituted for that of the lion as a type in Greek art.

Our lion's head is drawn to the life: the softer skin around the lips, the

distended nostril, and the muscles around the muzzle are all indicated with an almost Chinese exactness: the effect of snarling is admirably conveyed in the puckered up lines of the nose, and in the ears, which instead of standing erect are laid flat back against the neck. The shaggy mane could not well have been modelled without interfering with the handle of the vase, and the artist has shown a wise reserve in merely suggesting the coarse locks of hair by outlines of colour: this scheme prepares one well for the conventional body of the vase and forms a happy medium between it and the realistic head of the lion. The teeth are left in the natural colour of the clay; purple is used for the interior of the lips, the protruding tongue, the forepart of the nose, the pupils of the eyes, and for the exterior surface of the ears. The main portions of the head are separated from one another by bands of hatched lines: and the whole surface between the coarse hair of the mane and the muzzle is stippled with minute brown dots indicating the finer hair.

The skill which the artist has shown in the fashioning of this head proves that he was modeller no less than painter. This need not surprise us when we recollect the close connection that is everywhere found to have existed between the early schools of sculpture and of painting. This was especially the case at Korinth and Sikyon, as we see from the legends which surround the *Daedalidae*<sup>1</sup>; the legendary inventor of painting was according to one account the daughter of a potter of Sikyon working at Korinth, and on the Korinthian painted votive pinakes<sup>2</sup> we have the arts of the potter, the painter, the sculptor, and possibly also the bronze-worker, all represented, as if these had been bound up, as it were, in one art-community.

The representation of the lion in Greek art seems most naturally to suggest Mesopotamia: the idea suggests itself of the lion hunts on the friezes of Kouyundjik, of the groups of a king stabbing a lion in Persian sculpture, and so by way of the Phrygian monuments to the lion gate of Mykenae and the Mykenaeen swords. At the same time it must be remembered that the technique of the swords is only paralleled as yet in Egypt, and that the lion was a favourite subject in Egyptian sculpture. In this connection it is worth recalling the little Egyptian draughtsmen surmounted by lions' heads carved in ivory, which are much about the size, though they have nothing like the spirit, of the head of our vase.

The idea of surmounting a vase with the head of an animal or the upper part of a human figure was one which came into Greek art from the East. In Egypt of course this custom had obtained from a very early period for sepulchral purposes: the mummified cat or bull was deposited in wrappings of which the lower part conveyed no idea of the body of the animal preserved in them, but the upper part was modelled and coloured to represent the head of the animal. To a people accustomed to burning the bodies of their dead the idea naturally transferred itself to the vessels intended for holding the ashes: and so we find the early Etruscan cinerary urns often surmounted by

<sup>1</sup> See Klein in *Arch.-Epiq. Mittheil.* vol. xi. 205.

<sup>2</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, i. pll. 7 and 8.

a head which is more or less a portrait of the personage whose remains they contain. An intermediate stage is that of the alabastra, the long cylindrical vases of alabaster which were imported into Greece and Italy in early times as we know from Egypt; and of which the upper part is frequently carved in the human form. The anthropomorphic, and if I may borrow a word, the zoomorphic form, once fixed in Hellenic pottery, recurs with more or less frequency through all its stages of development: it had come in originally with the pottery of the Hissarlik type: it is scarcely found amongst the types of Mykenae<sup>1</sup> and Dipylon; but now in this Protokorinthian style it is coming in again; and in the class of Korinthian aryballi which follows the Protokorinthian in point of date, it is exceedingly prevalent: these aryballi are in the form of helmeted heads, lions, deer, Gorgon's heads, human figures: but there again the Egyptian influence is manifested in the Egyptising forms which recur in these shapes, such as the god Bes, and also in the fact that vases of this class, frequently found in Greek tombs, are made in a faience which is purely Egyptian or Graeco-Egyptian.

I may note here that a terracotta vase of the form before us can never have been intended for practical use. The original intention of the lekythos form was of course that of holding ointment or oil, for the extraction of which a perfectly clear channel was essential. The Greek potters were above all things practical, and no Greek would have put so impracticable a neck on a vase if it had really been intended for such a purpose. Our lekythos was made expressly for dedication in the temple or the tomb, and it is in keeping with the Greek idea of piety towards the dead that this and so many other painted vases received the wealth of ornament which so humble a material as terracotta seems otherwise hardly to deserve.

There is in the British Museum a jug from Santorin which was published in the *Mon. Ined.* IX. 5, fig. 1, and which illustrates the form of our vase, inasmuch as it has the neck and spout modelled in the form of the head of a Gryphon: the Gryphon is of course a specially Oriental conception, and is of frequent occurrence in the Korinthian vases: it occurs also on a little Protokorinthian lekythos from Kamiros which now stands under the same glass shade with the Macmillan and Temple vases. Now this Gryphon-headed jug is of a class which has most relation to the Phaleron class: that is to say, with a technique and design which in the main are Geometric, it shows decidedly the influence of new ideas: it may be that the vase belongs to an island fabric where the painters, accustomed to work in the Geometric style, were beginning to be influenced, if not by Protokorinthian pottery, at any rate by the same ideas as the Protokorinthian artists: the wide area over which tombs with Protokorinthian pottery are found shows how favourite this class was in antiquity and consequently argues for its having exercised an extensive influence. In the 'Phaleron' style there is a great deal in the character of the ornament which connects that class with the Protokorinthian: to take

<sup>1</sup> See the bull's head in gold and silver, 328, and the very similar vase of terra-cotta, Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, pp. 216, 217, figs. 327, *Hellenic Journal*, vol. viii. pl. 83, fig. 9.

only two examples, if we compare the Phaleron vase published in Bochlau's article on that ware,<sup>1</sup> fig. 8, we see a procession of four hounds to the right, headed by a hare which runs up hill, an obvious parallel to one of the scenes on the lekythos before us: while a still more striking parallel is found in a Protokorinthian lekythos recently acquired by the Berlin Museum (*Arch. Jahrb.* 1888 p. 247), in which the hare is drawn in the same peculiar attitude without the line underneath, which in the case of the Phaleron scene gives the explanation. And the same hare is found on one of the very early Korinthian pinakes now in Berlin (*Ant. Denkm.* i. pl. 7, fig. 27). In all these cases the same kind of pothook ornament occurs. Fig. 14 in Bochlau's article is a Phaleron jug of which the main field of decoration is filled with a lion's head in character not unlike the moulded head of the vase before us, and it would be easy to multiply instances which show the close connection between the Protokorinthian and Phaleron classes.

I will first give a brief description of the painted decorations of the vase, and reserve for a general statement the few remarks which these suggest.

Fig. 3 represents the handle of the vase: the broad handle of the ordinary lekythos cannot here as usual be carried into the lip: it is therefore made to terminate between the ears with a raised semicircular edge which suggests at once the crest of the lion's mane and also gives the artist the cue for the decoration: the space is admirably adapted for the Gorgon's head, which at the same time gives the necessary finish to the handle which would otherwise seem to terminate somewhat abruptly here. The Gorgoneion is of the usual archaic type<sup>2</sup>, with the protruding tongue and interior of the mouth coloured purple: as a survival of the slightly earlier method of drawing the head, it is here treated in outline. From this point downwards the handle is moulded as if to represent metal, with raised edges and a raised rib running down the centre: this is covered with a triple plait pattern running vertically, which is separated however from the Gorgoneion by a horizontal piece of double plait pattern of even smaller dimensions: each of these plaits is enclosed within a three line border: the triple plait is brown, the double plait purple.

Not the minutest portion of the vase is to be left without decoration, and so the entire edge of this handle, which is about 2 millimeters thick, is decorated with a countless number of zigzags like the four-limbed sigma, a pattern which is favourite throughout the Protokorinthian class.

Fig. 4 gives the decoration of the neck, an extremely elaborate and beautiful palmette ornament, in which the purple colour has been employed as much as the black with an excellent effect of clearness. The ground space is decorated here and there with minute pothooks, crosses, and Maltese crosses.<sup>3</sup> Both of these last are survivals from the range of Mykenae ornament.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Jahrb.* 1887, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> See Roscher's *Lexicon*, s v. *Gorgon*, p. 1713.

<sup>3</sup> See *Arch. Jahrb.* 1886, p. 134, fig. 2948;

and on a Kamiros pinax, Rayet, *Céramique*, p. 47, fig. 27.



I may remark by the way that, just as we have in these Protokorinthian lekythi of the seventh century B.C. the prototypes of the white Athenian lekythi of the fifth and fourth centuries, so in this elaborate palmette ornament on the shoulder we have the tradition which is kept up in the beautiful anthemion on the shoulder of the Athenian vases: the elements of the later development are absolutely to be recognized here—a curious instance of the conservatism of art traditions.

Fig. 5 represents the main band of decoration, a frieze .02 m. wide. Although this frieze is at its broadest part only  $11\frac{1}{2}$  cm. ( $4\frac{1}{2}$  in.) long, it contains no less than eighteen warriors in combat. The scene has no natural beginning or ending; it divides itself best at the place where it is divided in our illustration, there being a small space left empty between the figures which stand on the extreme right and left of the band as there given: the composition is so arranged that the centre of interest comes nearly beneath the front view of the lion's face. All the warriors are armed with low crested helmets, circular shields, greaves and spears: six out of their number are kneeling, and in this position are speared in the neck by the opponents behind them, so that the blood spurts out over the shields of the kneeling figures: all the figures with one exception are turned to the left, and the scene is possibly thus intended to suggest the surprise of an ambushade by an enemy coming from behind: the kneeling warriors certainly have the appearance of being taken unawares. Each of the shields has a different device, beautifully drawn: they run from left to right as follows: bird flying, swan, mask of bull, four quarters with flying bird in each, mask of bull, Gryphon's head, bird flying, head of bull, hen, cock, Catherine wheel, ram's head, Gryphon (?) with open jaws and wings spread,<sup>1</sup> swan, bird flying, mask of bull, owl, bird flying. It is curious that each of the attacking warriors is armed with two spears, while the attacked, with a single exception, have only one. Purple is used for the crests of the helmets, for the greaves, details of the shield devices, and the blood.

The second frieze (exactly .01 m wide) represents a horse-race. Six horses gallop at full speed to the left, ridden by boys who ply the goad freely. Beneath one of the horses is seated a swan, beneath another a crouching figure; whether this last is intended for a human figure or an ape it is difficult to say. If the former, it may be inserted as representing a spectator, which would correspond with the attitude of the right arm: diminutive spectators are found in similar scenes of early Corinthian ware (Inghirami *Vasi Fitt.* CCCVII., Salzmänn, *Nécropole*, Pl. II.: and see also the urchins in various attitudes crouching under the grand stand in the Corneto wall-painting, of which a copy is in the British Museum): and the habit of putting in animals or other figures to fill space in a scene of this kind is a regular practice of the early Korinthian artist. In the Salzmänn vase a small figure using a hoe is drawn under the horse, which takes part in the show. If on the other hand, as is more probable, it is an ape, it recalls the little vases in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the types of running or flying Gryphon in Egyptian and Mykenaeen art, Roscher's *Lexicon*, s.v. *Gryps*, p. 1745.

the form of a squatting ape which are of frequent occurrence among the Korinthian aryballi, and is only another added to the list of the many new animals which the artists of this cycle are learning to represent. The horses have enormous bits, and the manes and tails coloured purple: the manes are further indicated in the Korinthian manner by a series of wavy lines incised on the purple.

The third frieze, perhaps the most surprising of all, is only four millimetres wide, and yet the artist has not only put eight figures in it, but has been able to bestow on them all the spirit and elaborate finish which he has displayed throughout the wider spaces: nearly all the figures have the outlines engraved around the paint. Behind a net, represented by a triskeles of spirals, crouch a huntsman and his dog; the huntsman swings over his head his knotted stick ready to strike the hare which two hounds are chasing into the net on the left. On the right is a fox or jackal (?) which has just been caught by the foremost of two other hounds.

Below this scene is a band of alternate purple and black vertical rays and then two brown lines surrounding the foot. Each of the friezes is bounded by a triple row of the thinnest brown lines.

This little vase was acquired by Mr. Macmillan at Thebes and no doubt has come from one of those early Theban tombs which lie to the west of the town on both sides of the old road to Lebadea: they have been opened at haphazard from time to time during the years 1886–8: and while regretting that a scientific excavation has not been made of this site, we may congratulate ourselves on the fact that by far the most beautiful object among their contents has come to us. A series of Protokorinthian lekythi from these tombs were obtained in 1887 by the Berlin Museum; one of them (*Arch. Jahrb.* 1888 p. 247) closely recalls the style of ours, and might be the work of the same artist.

The question as to the origin of these vases is a very difficult one: the term Protokorinthian was invented for the class by Furtwaengler,<sup>1</sup> as a provisional title, not because it is proved that the vases were made at Korinth, but because the class is in general older than the Korinthian ware and is closely bound up with it by numerous transitional stages. Helbig<sup>2</sup> saw in them an early stage of Chalkidian, and more recently Dümmler<sup>3</sup> has adduced further reason for attributing them to Chalkis. I am inclined to think that Furtwaengler is right: in any case we know very little at present of the early Chalkidian art: and there are certainly very strong points of connection with the early art of Korinth. I will briefly indicate a few points in which our vase affords evidence either way.

The early bronze work of the Korinthians was celebrated in antiquity: and Furtwaengler has endeavoured to show that the style of these gaily coloured friezes is due to a survival of the influence of inlaid work in various metals which we see on the Mykenaeen swords. I have remarked on the

<sup>1</sup> *Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, pp. 46, 51; and *Annali*, 1877, p. 406.  
cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 41, p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Italiker in der Poebene*, pp. 84 foll.;

metallic character of the handle of our vase, which terminates at the top in very much the same way as the handle of the bronze vases of all Greek times: the pattern with which it is covered is moreover the same as that which Loeschcke so happily illustrated from the description of Homeric shield, *Il.* 18, 479, *περὶ δ' ἄντυγα βάλλε φαινήν, τρίπλακα, μαρμαρέην*—‘around it he set a threefold border, bright and dazzling.’ The careful use of engraved lines for outlines and details throughout is another hint in the same direction.

The subjects represented are all such as may be paralleled from early Corinthian art and from early metal work. Loeschcke has traced the history of the hare hunt to beaten metal through the shield of Hesiod: we may find further parallels in Hesiod to our vase, *e.g.* the frieze of warriors, *Scut. Her.* 237:—

οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτέων  
ἄνδρες ἐμαρνάσθην, πολεμῆια τεύχε' ἔχοντες,  
τοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ σφετέρης πόλιος σφετέρων τε τοκήων  
λοιγὸν ἀμύνοντες, τοὶ δὲ πραθέειν μεμαῶτες.

the frieze of horse-racing, *ibid.* l. 305—

παρ δ' αὐτοῖς ἵππηες ἔχον πόνον, ἀμφὶ δ' ἀέθλοις  
δῆριν ἔχον καὶ μόχθον,

and (l. 314) around the whole ran the Ocean, with many swans swimming on the surface of the water.

For both the combats and the horse-racing we may quote Pausanias' description of the chest of Kypselos, *V.* 18, 6, *στρατιωτικὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τρίτῃ χώρᾳ τῆς λάρνακος τὸ μὲν πολὺ εἰσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ πεζοὶ, πεποίνηται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ συνωρίδων ἵππεῖς*. As to the horse-racing, Krause tells us that it was not introduced at Olympia until the 33rd Ol. (648), and that the growth of this sport in the sacred games went *pari passu* with the use of horse in war. In any case, the races of boys on horseback are rare; where they do occur, it is usually on the early vases of Korinthian manufacture, such as the ‘Amphiaraus’ vase in Berlin (*Mon. Ined.* X, pll. 4–5).<sup>1</sup> The form of net on our vase is strongly suggestive of metal representation. It is curious that the Oikopheles vase (*Burlington Fine Arts Cat.* pl. 1), which is certainly an early Attic work strongly under the influence of Korinthian models, gives a form of net which is a combination of the type here shown and of another Korinthian form (that given in Loeschcke's *Dreifussvase*, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 pl. 4).

<sup>1</sup> *Berlin Cat. of Vases*, No. 1655; cf. also *ibid.* (early Attic), No. 1712; *Annali* 1855, Tav. 20. The representation of *κελητίζοντες* pueri was popular among the early bronze workers of the Korinthian-Sikyonian school (Overbeck, *Schriftg.* Nos. 406, 456); and on one of the painted Korinthian pinakes (*Ant. Denkm.* i. pl. 8, fig. 20) a sculptor is shown modelling the group of a boy on horseback. Loeschcke in

*Arch. Jahrb.* 1887, p. 277 raises the question as to whether the vase-painters originally had in view the association of the rider with the art-type of the dead person as a horseman. Where however as here the type is distinctly agonistic, it seems much more natural to connect it with the notion of funeral games, as in the Amphiaraus vase also.

In short, it seems extremely probable that our designs have been inspired by some metal work of early Greek workmanship, and that this was probably Korinthian.

The main result of the above remarks is to show that this vase seems to offer traces which are most nearly allied to early Korinthian metal work. Unfortunately, we know as yet very little of the pottery of Korinth previous to the time when this can be identified by inscriptions painted on the vases. The art of Mykenae seems to have become merged at its last stage into that of the Geometric invaders, whoever these were. But the Argive preeminence in art descended as an heritage to the great art-centres of Korinth and Sikyon. We should therefore expect to find traces of Geometric style in early Korinthian pottery; but this is at present not forthcoming. We have in the tomb of Menekrates from the Korinthian Coreyra (most of the contents of which are in the British Museum), among a quantity of fairly developed Korinthian pottery, one oinochoe which is Dipylon in form, technique, and ornament. This would seem to be an importation. What we now want is to find vases of Korinthian technique with Geometric decoration; but as yet I only know of one such definite instance. This is an oinochoe in the British Museum of a form which is rare in pottery, but which occurs again in late Roman glass. It has a conical body, a long cylindrical neck, and trefoil lip, from which a long broad handle descends to the body. (B.M. *Cat. of Vases*, form no. cxviii). This vase is described in the British Museum *Catalogue* no. 392, and is figured in Birch's *Pottery* (1873) p. 186 fig. 127, and thence in Dennis' *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (1878 edition) vol. I. p. cxxvi. fig. 80. The Gamedes oinochoe (*Wiener Vorlegbl.* 1888, pl. I. fig. 2) appears to be an adaptation of the same form.

At the time when it was catalogued and drawn, it was entirely covered with a misleading restoration in modern paint; the whole of this has now been cleaned away, and the animals and rosettes, which were a modern addition, have entirely disappeared. On the neck is a frieze of the usual Geometric waterbirds among dots, the handle is decorated with one long wavy snake<sup>1</sup> with seven 'swastikas' beside it, and the remainder of the decoration consists of bands of horizontal lines and of diaper pattern.

Since this vase is undoubtedly of Korinthian fabric, I would suggest that this really represents the true type of Korinthian Geometric pottery: it will correspond with the specimens which Dümmler published in *Arch. Jahrb.* 1887 pl. 2. and possibly with a series of vases in the British Museum, which are only different from the usual Dipylon in that the clay resembles that of Korinth, and is sometimes covered with a whitish slip. Probably the Geometric style never held long sway in Korinth<sup>2</sup>, and hence the comparative rarity of such specimens as this. If we may, as I believe, attribute the Protokorinthian class to Korinth, and if we consider the early date of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Dipylon Oinochoe from Rhodes in *Arch. Jahrb.* 1886, p. 135, which has the same snake moulded on the handle.

<sup>2</sup> The Korinthian gold band with reliefs (*Arch. Zeit.* vol. 42, pl. 8) gives us further evidence of the Geometric system at Korinth.

class, we can understand that the old Geometric style, with its constrained types of form and decoration, soon gave place to the freer methods of the new class.

That the Protokorinthian ware was manufactured at a very early date has been abundantly proved; Dümmler has shown (*loc. cit.*) that it was contemporary with at least a late stage of Mykenaeon art; and we have seen that in this ware certain Mykenaeon elements still survive. Helbig says that in the tombs of Latium they follow immediately upon the hut urns and the primitive Italian ware. Henceforward, they are found more widespread than any other class throughout the tombs of Greece and Italy. At Thebes we find the most advanced specimens, such as our vase and the specimen figured in *Arch. Jahrb.* 1888, p. 247, in company with a local fabric which is still decorated in the Geometric principle; and at Athens their importation may very likely have given the impetus which resulted in the creation of the Phaleron type.

Towards the end of the seventh century the supply seems to fail; probably because of the introduction (from Egypt?) of the new type of aryballos, which from this time takes a prominent place among Korinthian fabrics as well. It is therefore not strange to find that at Naukratis there has been discovered no example of Protokorinthian ware, although specimens have been found there of Korinthian aryballi and other Korinthian ware. At Naukratis the earliest pottery dates from the end of the seventh century; and most of the fabrics known to have been in vogue at that date are found represented there; including a good deal of what we know, from the inscriptions painted on them, to be of Korinthian origin. If the Protokorinthian pottery had been as popular in the market at the end of the seventh century as it was half a century earlier, it is probable that some of it would have found its way to Naukratis. I think then that we may fairly presume that by the end of the seventh century the Protokorinthian fabric was dying out.

The introduction of the incised line evidently gave facility for the development of a new style, that of miniature drawing, which had been impossible earlier, when details had to be indicated by leaving portions unpainted or in outline. The desire for such miniature work had been seen in the early Protokorinthian vases (*e.g. Annali* 1877 Tav. C.D.) with friezes in silhouette: and such vases as ours (largely exported, as their varied provenance shows) would doubtless have reached Athens early in the sixth century and prepare the way for such works as the François vase and the *figuras omnis imitari ausum* of Pliny. It is a period of inventions, and the growing desire is felt for a nearer approach to realistic treatment; Pliny says Eumarus of Athens first distinguished in colour the figures of men and women; yes, but already in this Protokorinthian ware, in the wares of Melos and the white-faced ware of Naukratis, in the Euphorbos plate, and the Caere paintings on terracotta, we have the same thing; that is to say, a local colour is given to the flesh of the men, while that of the women is left in outline. When painting began upon a red clay it became necessary to adopt white for the flesh of women: and it is curious to note that at an advanced stage of the Naukratite white-faced ware, an additional white

upon white is used for women and Sphinxes. Probably these vases mark a stage contemporary with the paintings on red clay imported into Naukratis, and the Naukratite painters were simply imitating what they saw on these imported pieces.

The class of ware which bears most analogy to the Protokorinthian, both in the obvious connection with Korinthian metal work and also in the choice and treatment of subject, is the class of stamped red ware plates, which Loeschcke has referred, I think rightly, to a Korinthian original inspiration (*Arch. Zeit.* 39, p. 40 foll.). Loeschcke remarks that the combat of Lapiths and Centaurs on Hesiod's Shield of Herakles is described in terms which point to a general *mêlée* of the opposing forces, l. 178 :

ἐν δ' ἦν ὑσμίνη Λαπιθῶων αἰχμητῶων  
Κένταυροι δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐναντίοι ἡγερέθοντο.

Now in early Chalcidian and Rhodian vases, he says, scenes of combat are almost universally split up into pairs of opposing combatants : and this practice is adopted in the François vase. On the red ware relief vases on the other hand, and on the early Korinthian vases<sup>1</sup>, the impression aimed at is that of two groups opposing each other in closed ranks, a *ὑσμίνη* in the Hesiodic sense : and such is clearly the intention of our fig. 5.

Again, it is noticeable that neither the frieze of warriors on our vase, nor the frieze of horse-racing<sup>2</sup>, have a definite beginning or ending : that is to say, they would be peculiarly appropriate for the decoration of a concentric circular band such as those on the red ware, on a metal shield, or the interior of a metal cup. The hare hunt of our vase is clearly an elongation of the usual form with huntsman, net, hare, and hounds : a scheme which Loeschcke has shown (*loc. cit.*) is directly traceable to the Phoenician bronze cups. One bronze cup found at Nimrud has on the innermost circle running hares, on the outermost, running dogs ; on another such vase we have the hound and hare alternately. On a Kyrenian cup from Naukratis in the British Museum (as yet unpublished) we have the early scheme of the Greek type ; the band which runs round the interior of this cup is occupied with three figures only, two dogs and a hare : neither huntsman nor net appears. Puchstein (*Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 227) has already pointed out that the ornament and composition of the Kyrenian and Rhodian vases are imitated from a metal industry, which had its nearest relation in the Cypriot-Phoenician workshops.

By 'Rhodian' he here means the circular pinakes with paintings on a whitish slip, of which several have come from Rhodian 'tombs,' but many more from Naukratis : I am inclined to think that this was not a Rhodian

<sup>1</sup> See *c.g.* a Korinthian oinochoe of 'Oriental' style in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the similar frieze stamped from a cylinder on the vase in *Mus. Greg.* ii. 99, fig. 6 ; beneath the horses are represented plants and lotos buds,

a metal bowl from Dali has a frieze of boys on horseback with whips, and birds flying beside them in the field (Perrot et Chipiez, iii. p. 779, fig. 548).

fabric, but imported; for these reasons; (i) from Biliotti's *Diary of Excavations in Rhodes* it appears that the pinakes are invariably found there in tombs which contain glass and porcelain objects, and no other form of vases except bucchero (Polledrara ware); (ii) the one inscription which we have on a 'Rhodian' pinax (the Euphorbos plate) is in an alphabet which is certainly other than Rhodian; (iii) we have in the British Museum a series of pinakes from Rhodes which are quite easily distinguishable as local imitations of this very fabric.<sup>1</sup> Whether it came originally to Rhodes and Asia Minor from Naukratis, or not, is another question; certainly a great deal of exactly similar ware was found at Naukratis: and it is worth noting that here the arrangement of the design in concentric circles is particularly frequent (e.g. *Naukratis* II. xi. 2). We have in the British Museum the fragment of one such Naukratite pinax which is here given in order to illustrate this concentric arrangement, and also because it is the only parallel instance I can find of the peculiar treatment of the horse's bit in our fig. 6.



FIG. 1.

To resume then, it would seem that both the pinakes, the fabrics of Naukratis and Daphnae, and the fabric of Kyrene share in common with the Protokorinthian ware certain relations to the metal bowls of Phoenician origin. The strong bodies, the feeling for naturalistic treatment, the flowing blood,<sup>2</sup> the human legged centaurs, the stippled surface, the filling in of the field with individual animals, the preference for representations of genre and heroic scenes—these are common to all. I may here add two points suggested by our vase: first the swan swimming, in the horse-racing scene fig. 6: an

<sup>1</sup> Amongst the pottery found in Rhodian tombs previous to the time of Attic importations almost all the known fabrics are represented by corresponding local imitations. I am inclined to think that there was no independent painted ware made in the island (except perhaps the 'Fikellura' ware) which was not thus imi-

tated; as a rule these local imitations were executed only in two colours (blackish brown on reddish clay) and without incising.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, *Scut. Her.* 173.

κατὰ δέ σφι κελευνὸν  
αἶμ' ἀπελείβει' ἔρας'.

obvious parallel to Hesiod *Scut. Her.* l. 316<sup>1</sup>; and, through it, to the Phoenician-Cyprian bowl (Cesnola Stern 56, 4: 69, 4). Secondly, the ape in our fig. 6 (the prognathous character of the head and the characteristic attitude seem to mark it as such here): we have the early Korinthus aryballi in form of a squatting ape: it occurs on the Kyrene Arkesilaos vase, and frequently on the Egyptian book of the dead, and possibly from Egypt it came into Phoenician metal work as we see it in Perrot and Chipiez iii. p. 759, fig. 543.<sup>2</sup> Similar points of resemblance might no doubt be multiplied; I will only add two which here occur to me. In Perrot and Chipiez iii. p. 759, fig. 543 we have, in the central scene on a Phoenician bowl, the figure of a man chained to a column by his arms which are tied behind his back; in the Kyrene vase (Baumeister *Denkmäler*, p. 1411) this identical figure is used for Prometheus; and again in the Attic amphora 'a colonnette' in Berlin (*Cat.* no. 1722) which, as the form shows, is borrowed from a Korinthus original; lastly, in the Amathous metal cup (Perrot and Chipiez iii. p. 775, fig. 547), we have a naturalistic scene of warriors very similar to that on the Macmillan vase; they carry shields with devices (one such device being the 'Catherine wheel' of our vase); and these shields are represented, as here, without the broad rim which is usual in Chalcidian and later Korinthus representations.

The direct connection of the Protokorinthus fabric with the mixed Egypto-Assyrian art which we associate with Phoenicia is admirably illustrated in the accompanying woodcut.



FIG. 2.

This is a Protokorinthus lekythos of exactly the same form as that given in *Arch. Zeit.* 41, p. 161, except that it wants most of the lip and the upper part of the handle: it was lately in a private collection in England. Its present height is .045 metre. On the neck is a frieze composed of the upper part of a winged figure repeated five times, and the wing and foreleg of what seems to be intended for a winged quadruped. On the body is a quaint representation of the sacred tree between two eagles (?) which look over their

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, *Scut. Her.* 316.  
κύκνοι ἀερίπδοται μεγάλ' ἤπνου, οἳ ῥά τε πολλοὶ  
νήχον ἐπ' ἄκρον ὕδαρ.

<sup>2</sup> A similar figure occurs on an early coin of uncertain (Asia Minor?) locality, see *Nutismatic Chronicle*, 1890, pl. ii. S.



backs towards it: on the left, the upper part of a winged figure with an Egyptian headdress, and a bird; on the right part of a similar figure. Below, a band of rays. On the handle has been a net pattern very similar to that which is frequent upon the ware of Kyrene (e.g. *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, Taf. 10, 3). Each of the figures has the outlines and details engraved, but so far as I can see there is no trace of the use of purple.

The analogy of this vase to the ware of Kyrene is obvious at first sight; and yet there is no question but that it belongs to the Protokorinthian class. Here we have, so far as I know, the first instance in Greek pottery where the elements appear directly inspired by Phoenician metal work. The sacred tree<sup>1</sup> points to Assyria; the pairs of heraldic birds to the tectonic sculptures of Asia Minor; while the two winged figures in the main frieze show decided Egyptian influence.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the whole design is treated in a manner as though copied without understanding; so much so, that in the upper band we have a wing and foreleg of an animal (cf. the horse in fig. 1 on p. 178), but no head.

Studniczka (*Kyrene*, pp. 7—8) has shown that the material of Kyrenian paintings may be traced through Thera to Argos, and remarks the close connection which may be established between the art of Kyrene and Korinthian-Sikyonian art. The same connection is obvious for the early art of Naukratis and the situla vases of Daphnae. To sum up then, we have the following result:—

(i) The Protokorinthian ware, following shortly after Mykenae, is closely connected with the old Greek Korinthian metal industry and so influenced by the Cypriot-Phoenician metal bowls.<sup>3</sup>

(ii) The fabrics of Naukratis, Kyrene, and Daphnae were subject to this Cypriot-Phoenician influence at a later date, probably in two ways: directly, through communication with the neighbouring island of Cyprus: indirectly, through Korinthian importations, as the types of myths there represented show us.

CECIL SMITH.

<sup>1</sup> The same tree occurs in another Protokorinthian lekythos (in the British Museum), from Kamiros in Rhodes; but in that case it is of much more developed and complicated form.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the figures of the Boreades in the Kyrene cup, *Naukratis*, part i, pl. viii.

<sup>3</sup> According to Biliotti's *Diary of Excavations in Rhodes*, two Protokorinthian lekythi were found 'between the walls D and E' of the

Akropolis at Kamiros, together with the following objects (marked C 10 and C 12): 'various porcelain statuettes and fragments; a bronze camel kneeling, with a man on its back: Archaic terra-cotta statuette; an iron spear and undulated blade; fragments of stone statuettes and animals; a sea-shell covered with incised ornaments, Egyptian style.'

## VARIOUS WORKS IN THE PERGAMENE STYLE.

THE chief object of this paper is to record and classify the various monuments which on the ground of subject-matter or style may claim to be connected with Pergamene work. It may be well also to notice by way of introduction what we can gather from ancient testimony.

Of most of the existing works that I shall mention I have had personal knowledge, and where I have had to rely merely on published representations of them, I can only bring them forward for the purpose of suggesting to those who have direct acquaintance with them to consider them from this point of view. The theory which I wish to work out—a theory already suggested by others—is that certain fields of Greco-Roman and late Roman art have received a deep and abiding impress from Pergamon. That this should be *a priori* probable does not need elaborate proof; Rome was the heir of the Pergamene kingdom, and had always friendly intimacy with it, and we hear of many Pergamene works being transferred to Rome by Nero (*Dio Chrys.* 644 *R.*): between certain Roman and certain Pergamene myths there was a close analogy,<sup>1</sup> which coloured the artistic representation of them: the struggle of the Pergamene kingdom with the Gauls, or—to speak perhaps more correctly—with Antiochus Hierax supported by Gallic mercenaries,<sup>2</sup> was the most recent counterpart to the struggle of Rome with the barbarians: it was the Pergamene school—as Professor Brunn was the first to demonstrate—who idealized and fixed for artistic representation the type of the northern barbarian and really created historic sculpture,<sup>3</sup> and I think that it can be shown that their rendering of this type became conventionalized and remained traditional throughout many centuries.

But the preliminary question which it is essential to answer is whether it is allowable to speak of a Pergamene style at all. For unless works done at Pergamon or in connection with Pergamon showed certain specific points of resemblance between themselves and a certain distinctiveness, we might

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* the exposure of the twins and Telephos, the infants suckled by the wolf: compare the legend in Plutarch (*Romulus* ch. 2) that Aeneas married Roma, a daughter of Telephos.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Kohler, *Die Gründung des Königsreichs Pergamon*: Urlichs, who combats many of his arguments in his *Pergamenische Inschriften*, yet admits the main part of his theory.

<sup>3</sup> Isolated works, such as the Nubian head—a bronze work from Cyrene—published by Rayet, *Mon. de l'art Antique* 2. No. 58, showing powerful realistic treatment of the barbaric type, are perhaps earlier than the Pergamene school: but theirs is the earliest systematic work in this field which could make a new epoch in sculpture.

affiliate Greco-Roman art in general to Hellenistic art in general, but no part at all of the former to Pergamene art as a species of the latter.

Is there then a Pergamene school whose work may be regarded as a species in this sense?

Ulrichs<sup>1</sup> implicitly negatives the supposition, simply because the inscriptions prove that artists of many different nationalities worked at Pergamon, Athenian, Sicyonian, Boeotian and Rhodian sculptors having combined to embellish the Attalid capital; but when he wrote he had not seen the fragments at Berlin. This on the whole appears to be also Dr. Conze's view,<sup>2</sup> who speaks of Pergamene art as a sort of *διαλεκτός κοινή*, an eclectic art, gathering together the various characteristics of the older schools. And this is partly true, but not the whole truth.

In spite of all this eclecticism, the works that are known to have come from Pergamon and its vicinity display on the whole certain common qualities and features which have not appeared at all or not in equal degree of development in earlier works. These qualities one may either praise or blame, but it is not the object of this paper to dwell on questions that concern the philosophy of art. I have tried to express in former papers in this *Journal* some of the common and essential characteristics of this sculpture, and I will try briefly to record these here, chiefly so far as concerns the rendering of the forms. But one ought first to notice the question from which of the two periods of the Pergamene work are these to be gathered, from the older period of Attalus I. or the younger of Eumenes II. Professor Brunn finds in the Neapolitan statuettes, which have descended to us from the Attalid dedication at Athens, traces of the workmanship of the earlier and more creative generation. On the other hand Dr. Conze maintains that the starting-point of our criticism must always be the *chef d'œuvre* of the younger generation, the Pergamene altar; and the reasons are strong for adopting his view. The objects that in the last few years have been drawn from the soil of Pergamon are originals of first-hand value, uncorrupted by the hand of the renovator: the Neapolitan works are very poor copies, almost characterless, and only by a very probable hypothesis can be connected with the Attalid originals; and in any case through this comparative lack of character they fail to give us a standard for measuring the later effect and influence of this local style.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pergamensche Inschriften*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Göttingen Gelchrte Anzeigen*, 1882.

<sup>3</sup> M. Reinach in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.* (Janv. 1889) and Dr. Milchhöfer in *Die Befreiung des Prometheus* give a more favourable estimate of the Neapolitan works, both maintaining that they cannot be copies of the Greco-Roman age. They may certainly be copies wrought in Asia Minor, but after a careful study I failed to detect in them any excellence of style or execution that might prevent us assigning them to the Greco-Roman

period. The prostrate giant suggests a good original, but the work is dull and cold. Neither in face nor attitude is there much power of expression, and the treatment of the muscles, the hair, and the wild-beast's fell, shows little marked style or 'Pergamian' character.

Still more superficial and dull is the rendering of the Amazon; though the drapery shows some skill and delicacy. The face has the high oval contour common in Alexandrine sculpture, but none of the specific marks of that type which appears on the frieze. The figure of the

The chief forms of what may be called the Pergamene countenance are as follows. The contour is a rather high oval, the height being proportionately greater than the breadth; the emphasis is laid on the flesh rather than on the bone-structure; the forehead is rather high and marked with a strong protuberance of flesh, the space between the eyes is great and the depth of the eye-sockets is strikingly great; the over-hanging eyebrows are realistically rendered and are often drawn up in the middle of their curve; the flesh at the outer corner of the eyes frequently is swollen, and the centre of the eyeball itself often protrudes. The lips are full and short and half-parted, and the upper one is usually arched and the centre of it pouts forward. The throat appears as a columnar support of the head, the under surface of the cheek springing as it were from the throat in low relief. The hair is rendered in a wild and confused mass.

The prevailing expression of the face—which these forms evidently assist—is one of physical pathos<sup>1</sup> or sensuous vehemence, a wild and undisciplined expression, barbaric or gigantesque.

The principle that governs the treatment of the head appears also in the rendering of the torso and the limbs: the effect desired and attained is that of temporary rather than permanent life and form. The bone-structure cannot of course be altogether concealed, but the eye is rather arrested by the swelling courses of flesh which are massed together to produce the barbaric or gigantic type. And both in the Pergamene face and torso there is a manner of handling the forms by which they appear liquid or fluent: that is, they seem to lack fixedness and to melt away one into another. Another way in which this interest in the momentary life and in the superficial aspect of the body is manifested is the naturalistic representation of such details as the hair on the breast and in the arm-pits, the drops of blood flowing from a wound, the wrinkles of the skin, the swollen veins. And the same love of mere detail is shown in the exact expression of the different textures of drapery.

Lastly, as regards the composition, we detect in the larger frieze and still more clearly in the smaller the tendency to crowd the figures together and to overload the action, whereby risk is incurred of losing plastic distinctness.

It might be supposed that the formal and spiritual qualities of this

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dying Persian displays more obviously still the cold formalism of the later copyist's hand: there is a moderate expression of pain in the face, and some violence in the attitude, but otherwise little that speaks of any school. The dying Gaul of Naples has far more character and gives some proof of the Pergamene power in historic sculpture; but if the earlier Greco-Roman period could not produce such imitative works as these, it had fallen very low. The 'Attalid' figures at Venice are of far higher value, but even these we can best estimate after

considering the data afforded by the monuments from the soil of Pergamon.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps by such a term we may distinguish 'Pergamenian' expression from the expression in a work of Scopas, a mental or spiritual pathos—such for instance as the epigrammatist found in the unknown *ἄγαλμα Μηδείας* (Anthology, ix. 593).

*οἶκτον ὁμοῦ καὶ λύσσαν ἐτήτυμον ἐνθεὸς ἀνὴρ  
μαρμάρῳ ἐγκατέμιξε, βιάζομένην δ' ὑπὸ τέχνης  
λαϊνέην Μήδειαν ὕλης ξύνησεν ἀνίης.*

sculpture as thus summarized are only found in the representation of the giants on the frieze, and are reserved for this theme or for the barbaric type, to which they are appropriate. If this were true, it would still be desirable to see if this style appeared in the Greco-Roman work that dealt with the same subject. But it is interesting to note that this reservation was not made by those who worked at Pergamon: that, though it is the giant-head of the youthful type that is the completest example of what I have called the Pergamene countenance, yet some of the essential traces appear in the faces of the divinities, and also in the human faces of the smaller frieze: nor is it only in the giant-body that the violent treatment of the muscles is seen. It has been made a complaint about the figure of Zeus in the frieze that the torso is too gigantesque. Also the excited and over-vehement expression is given to the faces not only of the giants but of some of the divinities as well. In spite of the fact therefore that many of the best traditions of the older sculpture were maintained at Pergamon, we have here a peculiar type of forms and a mode of expression becoming fixed and conventional.

Again, the qualities of this style appear throughout the whole of this colossal frieze in greater or lesser degree of impressiveness. The sculptors are from many nations, but there is unity in their work; and though of course there are great differences of skill in the execution of different slabs, yet no one has yet succeeded in assigning this series to the Attic and that to the Rhodian workshop. For instance, the figure which for no particular reason has been called Orion shows—as I have before pointed out—a drier and more restrained style than most of the others, and a more prominent marking of the bone-structure of the head. But we cannot claim this slab for the austerer style, independent of Asiatic voluptuousness; for in the face and form of the giant that lies at his feet the marks of the ‘Pergamene’ style are most conspicuous. Many special points of difference might be discovered between the series of slabs on which Hekate and the kindred divinities are represented, and that on which Amphitrite and the sea-divinities appear in combat. Not only is the execution inferior in the latter, but there are fewer specific marks of the school in the rendering of the torso and the face. But there is no new principle of composition, no different theory of formal treatment in this group, so that we might speak of a separate and independent style.

And—as I have incidentally noticed before and will soon show by illustration—the heads of the smaller frieze show on the whole the same characteristics as those on the larger, only that the dominant expression is less intense and their contour is rounder and softer, and the marking of the bone-structure of the skull which may be discerned on two heads of the larger frieze cannot be discovered on this.

The result of this brief and general statement will be this—that as a certain spirit and style appear throughout the mass of sculpture discovered on the site of Pergamon, and as no earlier work of sculpture displays the same style so conspicuously or so consistently, and as this has become a mannerism at Pergamon being used irrespective of theme, it is natural and scientific to

speak of a Pergamene style or epoch : and the Pergamene is a species of the Hellenistic work.

We may admit that there was no Pergamene 'school'—that is a body of native sculptors showing in their work the impress of local character and influence. But those who worked at this place worked *de consilii sententia*, with some unity of method and theory, and what they achieved was important enough to serve as a standard.

To trace the prior influences that explain this style and to collect the elements in the older sculpture from which it is built up, lies beyond the scope of this paper. But in passing I may illustrate the theory that I advanced before of an affinity between the style of Scopas and Pergamene work. Certain striking traits in the Pergamene type of countenance appear in the Tegean heads from the temple of Athene Alea: these are the protuberance over the forehead, the great breadth between the eyes, the very deep eye-sockets, and the protruding centre of the eyeball. I was strongly impressed with the resemblance between the head of the giant who is attacked by the goddess with the mysterious jar and the youthful helmed head from Tegea; and one of the larger heads from Pergamon in the magazine of the Berlin Museum shows the same expression of mouth and the same roundness of forms as some of the separate female heads in the British Museum found at the Mausoleum. That Scopas' style had great vogue in Asia Minor is in accord with the account of his life and sphere of work.<sup>1</sup>

Before enumerating those monuments for which there is only internal evidence of connection with the Pergamene school, I will briefly record those of which the 'provenance' from Pergamon is certain, and which are of value in illustrating the special style.

Besides the great frieze, there are the slabs of the smaller frieze which probably ran round the interior of the altar, most of which are still in the magazine of the Berlin Museum. The subject-matter of these has been successfully and skilfully explained by Professor C. Robert in the numbers of the years 1887 and 1888 of the *Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts*, but without much reference to the details of the style. I am only concerned here with shortly illustrating the affinity which I have already affirmed to exist between the sculpture of the smaller and that of the greater frieze.

In the representation of Telephos with the infant Orestes and the young Electra,<sup>2</sup> the face of Electra shows some of the marks of the type described, and the torso of Telephos the characteristic handling.

The group of Heracles and the infant Telephos<sup>3</sup> suckled by the wolf is very interesting on account of the connection which it has with representations which will be noticed later of the Greco-Roman period. It concerns the present point because the forms display the Pergamene style

<sup>1</sup> On a Bithynian coin of Lysimachus (in the British Museum, soon to be published in the series of Bithynian Kings) is a head of Heracles with many of the essential traits of the Pergamene type of countenance.

<sup>2</sup> Sketched in *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon*, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Overbeck, *Geschichte d. Griech. Plastik*, vol. ii. fig. 133a.

very markedly. The rendering of the abdomen and of the swelling courses of muscles above the hip recall the sculpture of the gigantomachy; the pose of the arm across the breast, by which the biceps and pectoral muscles are joined, is probably chosen partly because this sculpture is fond of dealing with colossal masses of flesh. Though the motive is very different, the pose is the same in the representation of the giant who is sinking down beneath Zeus. In the battle-piece, the scene sketched in Professor Robert's paper,<sup>1</sup> we are in various ways reminded of the larger frieze; the dead man falling head-downwards is a familiar motive; there is the same profuse detail of slaughter here as there—the same realistic rendering of the blood rushing from the wound, and the structure of the forehead and the eyes and the rendering of the hair are the same. Another scene of combat,<sup>2</sup> in which a naked warrior is falling with blood dripping from his side, and the helmed head of another is seen prostrate on the ground beneath, produces a very similar effect as the last.

On three unconnected slabs of the smaller frieze we notice strikingly similar types of heads: namely, on one where a bride is standing before the statue of Athene Polias<sup>3</sup> and a bearded man is by her side; another<sup>4</sup> where a kingly figure with his guards is hurrying along as though at some sudden news; a third<sup>5</sup> where another bearded man is raising a laurel-bough towards a statue of Apollo. In all three the male countenance has most of the same forms and the same peculiar expression as we find in so many heads of the larger frieze—the deep-set eyes and the great breadth between them, the protruding forehead, the fleshy cheek-bones, and that expression restless and unfixed which is difficult to describe. Now, according to Robert's most probable explanations, the personality is different in each case, and we cannot say that in each case it is the head of Telephos who appears in three different scenes. In fact we are here presented with a fixed form, which the Pergamene sculptor uses without much consideration of personality or ethos. It appears again in a free head which is exhibited in the Museum near to one of these slabs, and which is supposed to be a head of Poseidon.

The last point of resemblance between the larger and the smaller frieze which need be noticed here is the careful exactness with which both in one and in the other such accessories are rendered as the texture of the drapery, the feathers of the helmet's plumes.

It may then be concluded that the smaller monument, though carved perhaps by different hands, belongs immediately to the same school of work.

On the other hand, it is markedly distinguished, as Overbeck has well pointed out, by the picturesqueness of its relief style. The picturesque element had not indeed been wanting in the frieze-work of the gigantomachy; but the handling of the surface of the relief was there entirely in accord with the old plastic tradition: the background is the same for all the figures, and

<sup>1</sup> *Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst.* 1887, p. 256.

<sup>3</sup> *Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst.* 1888, p. 45, Pl. I.

<sup>2</sup> Robert, *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.* 1888, p.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 87, Q.

91, T.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 57, P.

all are on the same plane. But in the Telephos slabs there is often an ideal background, perhaps a natural scene, and figures are on a higher and lower scale, and the groups are massed together in different layers. This arrangement, as well as the plastic framework by which the scenes are divided, betrays the influence of painting on sculpture—an influence beginning to be dominant in the Alexandrine period—and probably gives us the clue for explaining the picturesque character of Roman relief work. If this theory be true, a general method of composition will have been borrowed for Rome from Pergamon.

Besides the Telephos frieze, there are many other fragments of sculpture brought from Pergamon, most of them lying at present in the magazine of the Berlin Museum. But it is not possible to find much of the local characteristic style in all of them, and it would be unreasonable to expect such uniformity; for Pergamon was a storehouse of works of art gathered from all parts of Greece, and the first Attalus took his share of the spoils of Corinth. Thus such works as the Athena Nike, the helmed head and headless statue of Pallas in the Pheidian style,<sup>1</sup> and many of the larger mutilated figures not yet exhibited may have no real connection with the site on which they were found, and do not weaken the theory derived from other works of a specific Pergamene style.

To those of this latter class that have already been examined may be added the following:—

(a) The remains of a seated male figure, lacking the head and arms, the left leg and most of the right: on his back was a mantle, a fold of which appears on his right thigh, and on his neck are traces of long hair. The right arm was brought across the breast, as if it were resting on some support at this side, and the whole body is inclined in this direction. The most conspicuous mark of its style is the very soft treatment of the surface and of the large fleshy masses; the breasts are very swollen and almost feminine, and this fact, together with the pose and the whole rendering, suggests a statue of Dionysos. If this is the right name, we have then four representations of the god from the site of Pergamon—this seated figure, the slabs from the larger and a smaller frieze found on the same site representing Dionysos *γυγαντολέτης*, and the slab from the Telephos frieze on which the god has been discovered moving hastily to the left, the three last having very much in common with each other and with the local style. Now we know that there was a worship and a temple of Dionysos at Pergamon, and we can gather its importance from more than one source.<sup>2</sup> It is not improbable that among the mentioned fragments of sculpture survives a reproduction of the temple statue, which may more naturally be supposed to be that of a seated or peaceful figure; but other examples may be quoted of a temple divinity represented in active or dramatic pose, and it is not impossible that the figure on the reliefs preserves something of the forms of the temple statue.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide Hellenic Journal*, 1886, p. 271, 'The Works of Pergamon and their Influence.'

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* the oracle in *C.I.G.* 3538: Dio Cassius,

Book XLI. 61: letter from Ptolemy to the Pergamenians, *C.I.G.* 3537.



Unfortunately, the coinage of Pergamon does not supply us with any clue; but a coin of the Cilician Seleucia shows us the figure of Dionysos closely resembling that on the Pergamene frieze-slabs.<sup>1</sup>

(b) The cast of a large statue of Hermaphrodite, placed in the Assyrian room, the original of which was found about the south-east of the altar, and is now at Constantinople. The right arm is missing, and the left shoulder has been restored with plaster. At present the work has attracted notice only on the ground of an obvious resemblance in the arrangement of its drapery to the Venus of Milo—a resemblance which may be only accidental, and which contributes nothing to the solution of any question concerning the latter; but it deserves serious attention on other grounds, and chiefly because it is the only Greek statue which has survived of this semi-oriental figure. The Hermaphrodite of the Louvre and that of Florence are only Greco-Roman copies, and still later and inferior to these in execution is the St. Petersburg statue. The Pergamene work far excels these in execution, for the surface is softly and warmly wrought, and in moral conception, for the combination of male and female forms is given without any particularly sensual effect. The face is high, and springs in low relief from the throat; the flesh is strongly emphasized, but the cheek-bones are also marked. The features are close, so to speak, and rather flattened, the chin being short and drawn up as it were to the mouth; the lips are full and rather pouting. There is nothing original in the pose, as the body inclines rather languidly towards the left, the left arm resting on the trunk of a tree. The only other work of the same subject that it recalls in the disposition of the drapery and partly in its attitude is the Hermaphrodite of the Villa Pamphili.<sup>2</sup>

It would be interesting to know if there was any affinity between the statue from Pergamon and the 'nobilis Hermaphroditus' of Polycles. The question is of course fore-judged if we assume that the copies of the sleeping Hermaphrodite, the statues in the Louvre and Florence and St. Petersburg, preserve the type and form of the original which Pliny praises; but this is only an archaeological conjecture. At any rate, the Polycles whose work upon this theme was most notable cannot have been the sculptor of Ol. CII., but either the second Polycles of the middle of the third century or the latest of this name belonging to the Attic 'revival.'<sup>3</sup> And it is not improbable, from the internal evidence of Pliny's text, that it is the sculptor of this latest period to whom he refers.<sup>4</sup> In this case the Hermaphrodite of Polycles might be almost contemporary in origin with that which has been brought from Pergamon, and which will always remain of importance for a certain simplicity and freshness it possesses, and its comparative purity of expression and form.

(c) A statue of a tall male figure, standing at ease, his weight being

<sup>1</sup> Mionnet, vol. iii. p. 601: Cilicia, No. 298.

<sup>2</sup> Clarac. Pl. 667, No. 1548, A.

<sup>3</sup> Vide C. Robert, *Hermes*, xix. p. 307.

<sup>4</sup> In the first part of sec. 19, Book XXXIV., Pliny enumerates the various epochs of bronze-

sculpture, and afterwards the works that illustrate these epochs. If the Polycles he mentions is not the latest sculptor of that name, then he has left the latest period without any monument to illustrate it.

thrown on his left leg, and his left hand gathering up his garment, which leaves bare his breast and right shoulder; most of his right arm is missing, but it seems to have been lifted and supported perhaps on a staff. The face is rather full and covered with a short beard; the hair is somewhat raised above the forehead, which is prominently marked and barred. Although the expression of the face is not very definite, the statue is very probably an Asclepios; for the position of the arms, the arrangement of the drapery and the treatment of the hair accord with a representation of the god that appears on certain Pergamene coins.<sup>1</sup> If the figure is really an Asclepios, it is then the earliest instance yet discovered among Pergamene monuments of a type of the god of which the origin is doubtful, and which is probably quite distinct from the well-known work of Phryomachus.

(d) Somewhat different in form from the last is a small figure in terra-cotta exhibited in the Antiquarium at Berlin, an undoubted Asclepios and of Pergamene 'provenance.' The god is once more erect, and the himation covers the lower part of the body and the left shoulder in the same fashion, but his right hand is resting on his hip, and in his left is the serpent-rod. In these respects it is a replica of the statue from Cyrene published in the *Hellenic Journal* (IV., p. 47); but the terra-cotta figure is bearded, and a youthful Asclepios is a type that has not yet been found at Pergamon, although we might believe that it was not unfamiliar to the native imagination, since in the vision of Aristides the god wore some of the forms of Apollo.<sup>2</sup>

(e) The two satyrs from Pergamon, published by Dr. Furtwängler,<sup>3</sup> the one a perfectly preserved bronze figure, the other a statue of Parian marble wanting the head and arms. The meaning and probable genealogy of these works have been fully discussed by the above-mentioned writer; it is only necessary to note here that the rendering of the anatomy shows in each case the manner peculiar to the school, namely, the powerful articulation of the flesh, and that the execution of the panther's fell and of the nebris reminds us of the skill so notable on the frieze in the handling of different materials. Whether the bronze figure with its plebeian and bucolic type of head supplies us with another criterion for bringing certain works—hitherto isolated—under the Pergamene species, may be afterwards considered. It may appear that this type is not especially Pergamene. But the figures prove at least that we may attribute to this school an affection for strained and complicated movement and pose—'a rhythm distortum et elaboratum'—that descends to them from Myron.

(f) The torso and lower body of a Triton, one of the figures that stood on the acroterion of the altar. I have already mentioned that most of these appear to be free reproductions of the divinities of the larger frieze, and their movements suggest the same action. It is quite possible that this statue of the Triton has the same dramatic meaning, for his right arm was evidently

<sup>1</sup> *Illustr.* Warwick Wroth, 'Asclepios on the Coins of Pergamon,' *Num. Chron.* Ser. III. vol. ii. p. 22, Pl. II. 8.

<sup>2</sup> ἄμα μὲν Ἀσκληπίος, ἄμα δὲ Ἀπόλλων.

Aristid. Iερ. λογ. β., Dindorf, i. 469.

<sup>3</sup> *Vierzigstes Programm zum Winckelmanns-feste 1880.*

raised on high as though brandishing a weapon, and his left hand holds a shell. There may be an allusion here to the old tradition according to which Triton served as trumpeter in the gigantomachy. The torso is treated so as to suggest the liquid element to which the personage belongs, and that the Pergamene sculpture achieved something in the representation of the beings of the sea the Triton of the Vatican—to be considered later—gives us fair reason to believe. It is evident that the skill which this sculpture possesses in softly rendering the surfaces of the flesh would stand it in stead when handling this theme.

(g) The female head well known through photographs and casts, which might be more conveniently considered in connection with the 'Venus of Milo.'

(h) I have referred above to fragments of a smaller relief-work, containing figures about fourteen inches in height, which has been brought to Berlin from Pergamon, and which is of some interest because it also represents a gigantomachy and copies certain groups of the larger altar. For instance, we see the figure of Dionysos showing the same treatment, the same half-feminine forms, and the same posture as the Dionysos of the larger frieze; the face is well preserved, and of the same type as the other heads of Dionysos which I have examined. Of much ruder work are two other reliefs, perhaps belonging to a consecutive frieze, but probably of later origin than that just mentioned, representing Zeus and Athene in the battle. The god is striding forward with violent action, with his left foot on a prostrate giant of human form; brandishing the thunderbolt in his right hand, with his left he has caught a serpent-footed giant by the hair (though the hand is missing, the interpretation is hardly doubtful). Zeus bears no aegis, and the resemblance of the scene to the greater frieze is not very close. The rendering of the forms shows the later exaggeration of the Pergamene style, and there is no fineness of surface. Athene with the aegis is hurrying to the left; only the right half of her body and no part of the neck and shoulders is preserved. The figure somewhat resembles the bronze of Athene with the giant published in the *Hellenic Journal*, Vol. IV., p. 91.

(i) Of much greater importance is a free statue of Zeus about six feet in height, which I have slightly referred to in a former paper—one of that series of statues which were probably carved simultaneously with the frieze-work of the great altar, and which probably stood above it between the pillars of the colonnade. No doubt this also is Zeus *Γιγαντολέτης*, for the posture and drapery are very similar to those of the Zeus on the frieze. And the differences arise mostly from the inevitable differences between a relief-figure in a group and a single free statue; that is, the action is less dramatic and violent. The head of this Zeus is only slightly inclined to the right, and the action is more directly to his front; there is no back-swing of the body, but he is striding forwards with right foot advanced and right arm uplifted. There is a certain dignity also and reserve in the motive of the left arm which merely supports the drapery, and the muscles are not so violently rendered nor the veins so swollen. If this is copied from the frieze-figure—

of which I am doubtful—it is a very intelligent copy, and takes an important place in our scanty series of Zeus-statues of a Greek period (Fig. 1).

Besides these works of sculpture there are several moulds, found on the site of Pergamon, for statuettes and reliefs, which are exhibited in the Berlin Antiquarium. Many of them are for the forms of divinities, such as Hermes, Apollo, Bacchus, Aphrodite, but it is hard to discern in them any features



FIG. 1.

specially characteristic of Pergamene work except in the Hermes, whose forehead and chest recalls something of the style.

There are also in the Antiquarium a number of small terra-cottas from Pergamon, but few of them give any clear illustration of the native manner, and the aggregate of them do not serve to corroborate Pliny's<sup>1</sup> remark con-

<sup>1</sup> *N.H.* 35, 160 : 'In Asia Pergamon retinet nobilitatem hujus artis.'

cerning the fame of Pergamene pottery. Two of them deserve mention here: one a female head (No. 6702), showing the unmistakable marks of the type; another a torso, that might be that of Eros or Bacchus, in many ways resembling the fragmentary statue described above, especially in the soft handling of the large masses of flesh on the breast and abdomen. And here also a chlamys is seen, passing round the left shoulder and appearing on the right hip.

So far as I am aware no museum, except the Berlin and the British, the University Galleries at Oxford, and the museum at Constantinople, possesses any monument of marble, bronze, or terra-cotta that is known to have come from the site or immediate vicinity of Pergamon. And all that we have is the colossal torso from Elaea—the port of Pergamon—which has not yet been published. It is probably a fragment of a statue of the seated Heracles. The characteristic style is very noticeable in the soft and lax rendering of the forms, and the deep depressions that throw strong shadows over the large masses of flesh, in the treatment of the lower part of the torso, and in the swollen veins.

The only other marble work that may with certainty be added to this list is a male head from the smaller frieze, in private possession at Dresden, of which I have no personal knowledge, but which is briefly mentioned in the *Archäologische Zeitung* of 1884 (p. 63).

The coinage of Pergamon contributes much to our knowledge of the local cults, and occasionally illustrates a local myth, but exhibits very little of the peculiar style in question. Nor should we expect to find much of it on this class of monuments; but an Alexander's head in the lion's skin on a coin probably of the period of Eumenes II.,<sup>1</sup> and a Pergamene coin of the time of Septimius Severus, showing Heracles with the hind of Cerynea, recall the familiar style in the rendering of the forehead and eyes.

A few fragments—not long discovered and not yet published, so far as I am aware—from the Stoa of Attalus II. at Athens may perhaps be reckoned among the monuments that come from the site or territory of Pergamon. Whether the king employed his own sculptors or Athenians for the decoration of his monument might be an open question; but the style of these fragments makes for the former supposition.

(a) A female head inclined to one side, with a veil falling over the back part. It has the peculiar highly-wrought expression which the sculptors of this school loved to give; and it shows their characteristic treatment of forms—the long oval contour, the deep eye-sockets, the forehead protruding in the centre, the short firm mouth. We might name it a head of Demeter.

(b) Another female head of colossal size, very similar in forms and expression, with half-open mouth, a highly-arched upper lip, and the same treatment of the forehead.

(c) A barbarian head, probably a Gaul's, displaying the characteristic Pergamene rendering of this type in the high cheek-bones, the hair and eye-

<sup>1</sup> Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon*, Taf. 3, No. 19.

brows; but there is more realism of detail in this than (for instance) in the head of the Dying Gaul of the Capitoline.

Before beginning the review of the monumental evidence that proves the diffusion of Pergamene style throughout other localities, there are some literary notices that are valuable to collect.

Among the arts cultivated with the greatest success in the later Greek and the Greco-Roman period was that of mosaic; and it is probable that Rome was to some extent indebted to Pergamon for the introduction and expansion of this art. 'Celeberrimus fuit in hoc genere Sosus qui Pergami stravit quem vocant asaroton oecon';<sup>1</sup> it is likely that he belonged to the earlier Attalid period, and it is possible that he was one of those who wrought the mosaics for the magnificent ship of Hiero II. of Syracuse (about 232 B.C.), which is one of the earliest recorded and certain instances of mosaic-work used for private luxury.<sup>2</sup> Now it is shortly after the date at which the Pergamenian kingdom was ceded to Rome (B.C. 133) that this art became popular in the latter city; and that this is more than a mere coincidence seems indicated by the name that is commonly applied in later literature to the mosaic-pavement—asarotum and asarotici lapilli—a general term, derived from the Pergamene work. The theory could be better established if one could discover in Roman mosaic sure traces of the Pergamene style; and the attempt would be adventurous, as no mosaic has been found on the excavated site or in the vicinity of Pergamon, and it would be hazardous to seek in so different an art for the same style that appears in the sculpture; but a few clues of connection may be gathered, chiefly from the representation in mosaic of Alexander's battle.

In his *Campanische Wandmalerei*<sup>3</sup> Helbig has thrown out the suggestion that this work is derived from an original—probably a painting—that belongs to the same epoch and tendency as the Attalid historic sculptures. We may note that the same principle is observed here as there in the rendering of the barbaric type, and some of the same features reappear, and the real type is given without excessive naturalism. Now it cannot be said that any and every achievement in historic art in the Hellenistic era immediately falls to the credit of the Pergamene school, for Cyrene or Alexandria may claim to have done work of the same kind and power in regard to the African nationalities. But it is much more probable that the type of the Persian race was originally a theme of Asia Minor art rather than of Greco-Libyan or Greco-Egyptian. And the mosaic in question is not without evidence in support of this. There is a certain resemblance—that must not however be too much insisted upon—between the figure of the Persian who is transixed by the spear of Alexander, and that of the young giant who is falling before Athene on the altar-frieze. His face and the faces of some of the other Persians show something of that character and that expression in eyes and

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* 36, 184.

<sup>2</sup> The art of mosaic had been employed perhaps as early as the fifth century for the decora-

tion of temple-pavements; *voir* Letronne, *Lettres d'un Antiquaire*, pp. 313-315.

<sup>3</sup> P. 44.

forehead that mark the gigantesque type; and the reflection of the prostrate Persian's countenance in his own shield recalls to our mind a similar trait in Sosus' mosaic, the reflection of the bird's head in the water. I am aware that these indications are of rather slight force; but they combine with more general considerations of probability to connect the mosaic with the historic work of the later epoch rather than with the picture of the Egyptian Helena to which<sup>1</sup> Overbeck would refer it. The violent dramatic spirit, the highly-wrought pathos, the masterful characterization of the Persian race, are features in the work that are difficult to reconcile with the belief that the original was painted by a woman in Egypt soon after the middle of the fourth century B.C.

The popularity of the work of Sosus is proved also by the existing imitations; the birds drinking from the cup on the Herculaneum mosaic are a reproduction of part of his subject, but it throws no light on any special character of style. As has been already said, it is scarcely fruitful to try to find any main stream of Pergamene influence in Roman mosaic-work; but here and there in certain themes a certain affinity may be observed.

The literary record concerning Pergamene art, that is next in importance to the record of the Attalid dedications at Athens, is a series of epigrams describing the representations in relief on the pillars of the temple that was raised at Cyzicus by Attalus II. and Eumenes II. in honour of their mother Apollonis. According to the transcriber of the epigrams they were actually inscribed on the pillars themselves—*ἐς τὰ στυλοπινάκια ἐγγέγραπτο, περιέχοντα ἀναγλύφους ἱστορίας*.<sup>2</sup> That the verses and the art were contemporaneous in their origin cannot be believed, as the irregularities of the metre point to a very late period; perhaps their inscription is only imaginary, and they are the work of a late Byzantine. But there can be no doubt that they describe actual monuments, the decoration of the temple-pillars at Cyzicus—and record some of the productions of the artists who worked for Attalus and Eumenes. Many of the subjects can be illustrated, and some have a special interest for Pergamene legend, and may very probably be the work of the sculptors who carved the smaller Pergamene frieze. The first<sup>3</sup> in the series is a representation of Bacchus leading Semele to Olympos with Hermes preceding, and an escort of Satyrs and Sileni with torches. The text is too vague to tell us much about the composition, but we may conjecture a youthful Dionysos standing in the chariot by the side of Semele in the centre of the scene.

The words *τὰν ἄθεον Πενθεύς ὕβριν ἀμειβόμενος* can refer to nothing that was there in the scene, unless we suppose a combination of two separate myths on the same slab; and the evidence of other monuments cannot help us towards any reconstruction of it, for with the exception of one broken vase we have no representation of the ascent of Semele. The chief interest of the

<sup>1</sup> *Pompeii*, p. 425.

<sup>2</sup> The epigrams were first noticed by Visconti, *Iscrizioni Greche Triopce*, p. 102: for 'textual criticism' see Jacob's *Excercitationes Criticæ*,

vol. ii. p. 139; they have scarcely received any archaeological criticism.

<sup>3</sup> *Vulc. Anth. Pal.* iii. 1.

record is that it gives us another example of the figure of Dionysos as a theme of Pergamene sculpture; and I have already noted with what peculiar expression and forms the type of the god was handled by the men of this school, to whom chiefly, we may believe, the later modifications of the type are due. But it is doubtful whether there is any Greco-Roman sculpture dealing with this subject in which we can definitely trace the effect of their work. The head of Bacchus in Leyden, published in the *Mon. dell' Inst.*, ii. 41, and described by Furtwängler<sup>1</sup> as being 'd'une expression puissante et animée, d'un grand élan et empreinte de ce pathétique un peu rude qui caractérise les sculptures de Pergame,' appeared to me, on personal observation of it, scarcely to have the value thus ascribed to it, and to show little affinity in its forms to Pergamene style.

The choice of this subject for the decoration of the Cyzicene temple need not have been suggested by the local worship of Dionysos at Pergamon, but by the desire to illustrate the affection between son and mother—the idea expressed in nearly all these reliefs.<sup>2</sup>

The second representation is that which stands in the closest connection with the local legend: the recognition of Telephos by his mother Auge, the incident that is recorded by Hyginus, and perhaps was found in the *Μυσοί* of Sophocles. The Cyzicene relief has a particular interest, because its subject is closely connected with that of one of the smaller frieze-slabs that have been brought from Pergamon, on which in spite of its mutilation, we can discover the form of Telephos<sup>3</sup> and the serpent that miraculously intervenes between the son and the mother to prevent the intended matricide. On a vase of the later archaic period we see Telephos fully armed and pursuing Auge who is hastily retreating (*Arch. Zeit.* 1853, Taf. 60). But neither of these representations can give us an exact clue to that on the temple of Apollonis; for both these are dramatic and violent, but the words of the epigrammatist evidently describe a peaceful situation, the moment of the discovery, and the purpose of Telephos to lead his mother back to his native land; and such a scene accords well with the whole of this series of mythic subjects. But it is very rarely<sup>4</sup> found among surviving monuments, and it may take rank by the side of the smaller frieze as illustration of the original work done by the Attalid sculptors in the field of Pergamene myths.

Many of these Cyzicene representations are so to speak *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*, far-fetched themes of which existing works supply us with no illustration, and which are chosen merely as mythic or historic records of filial piety. It is only necessary here to mention those that have some discoverable relation with known monuments, and some importance for the history of Pergamene sculpture. Great interest attaches to the sixth and the fourteenth representation, the former being the slaughter of Python, the latter the death of

<sup>1</sup> *Collect. Sabouroff*, vi. 23.

<sup>2</sup> But the presence of the Silenī in the scene may be an allusion to the Dionysiac society that existed at Pergamon of *Βουκόλοι* and *Σειληνοί*. *Vide* inscription, vol. vii. p. 40 of *Hermes*.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* sketch in *Jahrb. d. deut. Inst.* 1887, p. 245, fig. C.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of the relief in Brocklesby Hall (Michaelis, *Locust Marbles*), 'Telephos and Auge,' is very doubtful.



Tityos at the hands of Apollo and Artemis. From the heading and the text of each epigram we can partially reconstruct the scenes. In the first Leto is flying before Python, and Apollo and Artemis are shooting—ἀπὸ σκοπιῆς Δελφῶν. We must suppose that the rocky terrain was indicated, and from the words οὐ θήσει τρίπον ἔνθεον we may conjecture that the tripod was actually seen near the god, as it is in the representations of Apollo Pythoc-tonos on the coins of Rhegium. What is unusual in the Cyzicene rendering of the myth is the presence of Artemis in the first place; for apart from this instance she is not, as far as I am aware, found in this scene, except in those rare and different vase-representations which show Leto fleeing from Python and holding the twin children in her arms; secondly, the presence of Leto herself interpreting the myth as an illustration of filial piety.

Apollo is avenging Leto for Python's pursuit of her at the time of his birth; only thus will this scene express the idea of the whole series. But this is the rarer and probably not the original view of the myth, and in support of it we can only quote the legend of Hyginus, the vase-representation mentioned above, and the Homeric hymn to Apollo as it appears in the fanciful reconstruction of O. Gruppe.<sup>1</sup>

The fourteenth epigram describes a very similar subject, and the figures of Artemis, Apollo, and Leto appear again. The form of the dying Tityos may have been lying at the feet of Apollo, and thus the group would have closely resembled that in the Pergamene frieze of Apollo and the fallen giant of human shape, as in a former paper it has been noticed how the Pergamene Apollo resembles the slayer of Tityos as he appears on a red-figured vase.<sup>2</sup> While in the earlier vase-representations, for instance on an archaic Corinthian vase in the Louvre, Tityos though usually wounded is often still erect and retreating, the sculptor of the Cyzicene slab has followed what was probably a prevalent mode of treating this theme. We gather from the epigrammatist's words that the giant was streaming with blood from his wounds, and we have here an indication of that love of sensational realism which is seen so frequently in works of this school.

From the Pergamene and Cyzicene monuments, then, we have evidence that the type of Apollo was familiar in Pergamene sculpture, as we know also that he enjoyed special worship both at Cyzicus and Pergamon.<sup>3</sup> We may also suppose, as the sculptors were dealing with closely cognate themes, namely, the slaying of the giants, of Pytho, and of Tityos, and as the action of the god is on the whole the same in each, that the pose and form of Apollo was very similar in all these representations. And we may enlarge the group of works connected with the Belvidere statue by including in it these representations on the Cyzicene temple.

The seventh epigram describing the representation of the fate of Dirce is of great importance, as it is the only sure proof we have that Pergamene

<sup>1</sup> *Die Griechischen Kulte und Mythen*, p. 530.

<sup>2</sup> *Hellenic Journal*, 1885, p. 127

<sup>3</sup> Ἀπόλλων ὁ καλλίτεκνος, Arist. *Ιερ. λογ.* β., Dind. 469; Hekataeus, *Frag.* Muller, 202.

sculpture dealt with this theme. For the Farnese group by itself is insufficient evidence, its authenticity being so corrupted by excessive restoration that, though we may find a general resemblance to Pergamene manner and spirit in its picturesque character, in its dramatic violence, and in its expression of the pathos of merely physical suffering, yet we cannot find in it the surer formal marks of affinity. And the inscriptions found at Pergamon, at first supposed to show that one of the sculptors of the Farnese group was employed for the decoration of the Pergamene altar, are now admitted by Dr. Conze to be doubtful. But the epigram proves that the main motives of the Cyzicene representation were the same as those of the monument in Naples.

*ἄγε καὶ ἐκ ταύροιο καθάπτετε δίπλακα σείρην,  
ὄφρα δέμας σύρη τῆσδε κατὰ ξυλόχου.*

Both brothers are engaged in tying Dirce by a double cord to the bull, and the body is to be dragged along a bushy ground—a picturesque trait found in the Farnese group and similar to some in the reliefs of the smaller Pergamene altar-frieze. And it seems probable that Antiope also was present and that Dirce was making appeal to her; at least this is grammatically the most natural interpretation of the words

*Δέσμιον ἦν πάρος εἶχε διὰ ξηλήμονα μῆνιν  
Νῦν ἰκέτις αὐτὴ λίσσεται ὀδυρομένη.*

Whether the Farnese group or the Cyzicene relief was the earlier is hard to say, but the epigram justifies us in bringing the former into near relation to Pergamene sculpture. It may be that the myth was first handled by painting, as it seems a theme more appropriate to that art; but we have no proof of any representation earlier than the Pergamene, and there is nothing to hinder us supposing that it was in this school that the subject first received artistic treatment. We find the same scene on a relief from Volterra and on two Pompeian frescoes:<sup>1</sup> on the former and on one of the frescoes we find something of the Pergamene style in the expression and rendering of the face.

The eleventh epigram describes the myth of Polydectes and Perseus, who is turning him to stone with the Gorgon's head. The verse implies that the sculpture was able to express the petrefaction of the limbs: how this was possible for an art that had obtained complete mastery in the handling of the surface may be gathered from that frieze-slab of the great altar, on which a youthful giant with stiffened limbs is sinking down before the aegis of Zeus.

The evidence of the epigram supports the supposition that among the existing representations of Medusa we may find traces of the Pergamene hand. Certainly in the range of its expression and some of its forms, the Ludovisi head shows affinity with the work of this school, as has

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1852, Taf. 47, 48. Zahn, iii. 91.

been pointed out by Trendelenburg,<sup>1</sup> who compares it with the head of the youthful giant in the first slab of the Pergamene frieze (4); but here it is the still living energy of rage and hatred that is expressed in the contorted features, while in the Medusa the bitterness of pain and hate is shadowed indeed in the lips and drawn eyelids, but there is an approach in the features to frozen insensibility, and the expression is not so violent but profounder. In both works, however, we see the strong expression of a pathos that is more physical than mental, and this is a marked though perhaps not a 'peculiar' property of Pergamenian sculpture. As regards the forms of the Ludovisi head, the long wavy hair, the large eye-sockets, the arched lip recall the well-known characteristics of this style, but the face has not the usual contour nor the usual lines and depressions.



FIG. 2.

There is another head of Medusa, a terra-cotta mask from Tarentum (Fig. 2), published in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1883, Pl. 3, which the writer there classes among works of this school. The head is in private possession; but so far as one may judge from the reproduction, the view about its origin or affinity is correct. The wrinkled forehead, the breadth of face, the distance between the eyes, the form of the mouth and of the arched upper lip, vividly remind us of some of the younger giants' countenances. Again, the Medusa

<sup>1</sup> *Die Gigantomachie*.

head from Stabiae shows the same spirit of workmanship, and some of the forms are the same.<sup>1</sup>

But it would be rash to conclude with certainty from the above evidence that this type of Medusa—with its romantic expression, with the strained pathos of its forms—was the achievement of the Pergamene school. It may be that an older generation discovered a mode of expression for the agony of death, and that this became a traditional mode for rendering the dying passion of a Laocoon, a Medusa, or a youthful giant. Only there are no monuments that prove this type to be older than the earlier Pergamene era; and there was no other school in the Alexandrine period that possessed such mental aptitude, so to speak, for the fullest representation of physical horror. At least the works that have been compared help us to conceive how the Medusa appeared on the Cyzicene relief.

The historic incident represented in the relief described in Epigram 17—the sons carrying their parents on their backs to save them from an eruption of Etna—is not without interest, in that the story recalls the myth of Aeneas and Anchises; and this representation may be compared with the Greco-Roman representation of Anchises on the shoulders of Aeneas. A late and much defaced statue in Cologne of a warrior armed with helmet, sword, and cuirass, and bearing on his left arm a man who holds some oblong object on his lap may represent an Aeneas with his father. The latter's head is missing, but the warrior's face shows something of the Pergamenian type in the deep-set eyes and the lines about the brow and lips.

The last epigram of this series has this unique interest, that it gives us the earliest instance of the rendering of a Roman myth by Greek art. The scene on the slab was the deliverance of their mother by the twins Romulus and Remus; and we might almost believe from the words of the epigram that the suckling of the twins by the wolf was represented on the same relief by that sort of 'contaminatio' of incidents which sometimes appears in the later sarcophagi. That Pergamene sculpture was the first to treat of Roman legend is not only a proof of the political friendship of the two states, but also assists the belief in the strong influence of Pergamene art in the Roman period.

And it may be more than a mere coincidence that the earliest known monument that illustrates certain scenes from the Virgilian epic, the Roman Columbarium, published in *Mon. del Inst.* X., Tav. 60, shows many points of connection with Pergamene work. Some of these have been noticed by Professor Robert in the *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Instituts*,<sup>2</sup> who compares the building of Alba Longa, as represented on the Columbarium, with the building of the city on one of the slabs of the Telephos frieze. We may notice also the resemblance between the recumbent figure of the river-god, in the scene on the Roman work showing the exposure of the twins, with the deity in the Pergamene representation of the deliverance of Prometheus, the pose and drapery being the same in both; also between the female figure—

<sup>1</sup> Zahn, i. 58.

<sup>2</sup> 1888, p. 95.

probably a nymph—seated on a rock and a person of like form and in like pose on the Telephos frieze. We find also certain motives that were favoured by the sculptors of Pergamon in their representations of combat appearing in the battle of the Trojans and Rutulians on the Columbarium; such as the fallen warrior with his head on his arms and his hair streaming to the earth, and the warrior planting his foot on the body of another prostrate combatant and dragging his spear from the wound.

These are the most important contributions that this series of epigrams offers to our list of genuine Pergamene works. A detailed analysis of the text might further reveal the occurrence on the Cyzicene reliefs of certain 'common-places' of Pergamene art; for instance, in the third scene, where Phoenix was being blinded by his father—*ἦγε δ' ἐς ὀφθαλμούς λαμπάδα παιδολέτιν*—the blazing torch thrust into the face recalls more than one passage in the Pergamene gigantomachy. To show the action of fire on flesh implies a facility—acquired late by Greek sculpture—to produce picturesque effects; and I do not remember to have seen this motive in any Greek monument of plastic art earlier than the Pergamene period.

Among the literary records of works at Pergamon we need only notice for the present purpose those which we may believe to refer to works that were actually produced by the sculptors or painters who worked in this style. It is not always easy to say whether the record has this value, or merely describes something that had been brought to Pergamon by the zeal of the royal collectors. For instance, do the words of Pausanias—*γραφαὶ ἐν Περγᾷ τὰ Πολυξένης παθήματα ἔχουσαι* (10. 25. 10)—describe pictures brought there by Attalos or Eumenes, or fresco-paintings on the wall of some public building there? The latter is perhaps more probable, as he is speaking of a connected series of paintings. In this case we have a record of Pergamenian art, and obviously the subject is of that pathetic nature that would attract an artist of this school; but as far as I know there is no existing monument of the Polyxena legend that at all betrays the influence of this style.

Among the sculptors employed by Attalus II. was Epigonos, whose name is preserved by a Pergamene inscription, and who no doubt is the same as the sculptor mentioned by Pliny, 34. 88: 'Epigonos praecessit in tubicine et matri interfectae infante miserabiliter blandienti.' It has been suggested with some probability that the 'tubicen' is a Gallic warrior with the curved trumpet; and the second work also may have represented a slain Gallic or barbarian woman with her mourning child: both subjects belonging then to the sphere of historic sculpture, and the latter offering opportunity for the expression of the highest pathos. The connection of the Ludovisi head called Medusa with Pergamene art can hardly be doubted; and if, as is now often believed, it is no Medusa head at all,<sup>1</sup> we might interpret it as the head of a barbarian woman sinking to the ground in death. And it might be

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<sup>1</sup> Friederichs-Wolters's *Bausteine*. But Professor Brunn, in a recent paper, has ably and convincingly defended the old view.

a copy from the Greek period of the "mater interfecta" of Epigonos. A very similar subject was found in a painting of Aristides, the contemporary of Alexander ('oppido capto ad matris morientis ex vulnere mammam adrepens,' Pliny, 35. 98), which may have inspired the work of Epigonos. There was at least one painting of Aristides in Pergamon. Being a great master in the expression of pathos, for whose works Attalus I. appears to have been very zealous, he may have exercised on Pergamene painting the same sort of influence as was exercised by Scopas on its sculpture.

We have abundant ancient testimony to prove that many cities of northern and central Asia Minor were subject to the Pergamene dynasty or exposed to its influence,<sup>1</sup> and in many cases it can also be proved that the artistic style of Pergamon was diffused where the dynasty acquired political power. An instance of the wide radiation of this influence is the giant's head from Trebizond, published by this *Journal* in 1886. The connection of Pergamon with Cyzicus is shown not only by the epigrams in the Anthology, but also by the records concerning Stratonicus and Phrymachus; the former a native of Cyzicus and one of the plures artifices (qui) fecere Attali et Eumenis adversus Gallos proelia,<sup>2</sup> the latter being one of the same group of sculptors, and famous for his Asclepius that stood in the Nikephorion of Eumenes II. and was carried off by Prusias of Bithynia, and for his Priapus that he wrought for Cyzicus.<sup>3</sup> We perhaps obtain some impression of this statue from the later coins of Lampsacus with the representation of Priapus leaning on a thyrsos and offering a libation over an altar-flame. We might believe then that among monuments found on the site of Cyzicus we could discover Pergamenian tendencies of style; but our stock of these is very scanty: and I can only mention the coin-type of certain Cyzicene staters, on which appears a figure of a lion-hearted man with wings resembling closely the giant on the Pergamene frieze with whom a young god is wrestling; and a bas-relief from Cyzicus, now in Constantinople, representing a battle of the Greeks and Gauls, one of the Gallic heads closely resembling in type the chieftain's head in the centre of the front of the sarcophagus of Amendola, which latter work undoubtedly shows the Pergamene influence.<sup>4</sup>

Itaea, the port of Pergamon, and Attalia founded by Attalus II.,<sup>5</sup> probably contained monuments that belonged to this class. I have already mentioned the torso in the British Museum from the first of these places, and on one of the coins of Itaea we see a native myth in the representation of Auge being rescued by fishermen from her chest—a very pictorial subject that might be derived from a Pergamene painting.<sup>6</sup> A coin-type of Attalia is a running Artemis with two torches—possibly a type of Pergamene religious sculpture.

At Tralles and at Parion there were monuments of Pergamene work: at

<sup>1</sup> Vide especially Livy, xxxviii. ch. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, xxxiii. 154, and xxxiv. 84.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ανθετ' Ἀναξαγόρης με τὸν οὐκ ἐπὶ ποσσὶ  
Πρίηπον  
ἐν χθονὶ δ' ἀμφοτέρῃ γούνατι κεκλιμένον.

Τεῦξε δὲ Φυρμάχος.

*Anth.* ii. 120, 9: *Planud.* iv. 239.

<sup>4</sup> Vide Reinach, *Recue Archéol.* 1889, p. 320.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, 667.

<sup>6</sup> *Mithteil. d. deutsch. Inst.* 1885, p. 21.

the former a palace of Attalus II., built and adorned by artists in his employ; at the latter a large altar, erected by Hermocreon, a sculptor who worked for Eumenes II., and Parion seems to have been generally favoured by the dynasty. We hear of their political connection with Smyrna and Phokaea,<sup>1</sup> but we have no monuments, so far as I am aware, that illustrate this. The head of Bacchus, reported to have come from Smyrna,<sup>2</sup> is indeed ascribed by Furtwängler to the Pergamene class, being, as he writes, 'd'une expression puissante et animée, d'un grand élan et empreinte de ce pathétique un peu rude qui caractérise les sculptures de Pergame;' but on observation of the original I was unable to detect any close affinity with this style. The expression is excited but superficial, and neither the expression nor forms of the face nor treatment of the hair serve to remind us at all vividly of any Pergamene head.

Of the close connection between Pergamon and Ephesus there is much ancient evidence,<sup>3</sup> and that a certain community of style prevailed in the work of the two cities is probable enough. It is true that we can gather little that is positive from any monument of sculpture; for the Borghese warrior in the Louvre who appears to be defending himself from the attack of some horseman, and the statue at Athens found in Delos which M. Reinach compares with it,<sup>4</sup> do not show the distinct peculiarities of this school, though there is a certain affinity to Pergamene work in the mode of representing the action; it is a mere conjecture therefore to say that they are derived from the Athenian group of Attalus' dedication, and that they are statues of Greeks defending themselves from Amazons. But in the terra-cottas from Ephesus we occasionally find traces of the style of this school; for instance, in the small Ephesian terra-cotta in Berlin, a youthful satyr's head in the same pose and of the same expression as the head of the 'dying Alexander;' and in another small terra-cotta from the same site, also in the Berlin Antiquarium (marked No. 7597, *b*), a female head with ivy-leaves, perhaps Ariadne, in features and expression something like the well-known Pergamene female-head.

We have two monuments of the Greco-Roman period, one from Aphrodisias in Caria and one from Telmessos in Lycia,<sup>5</sup> that have a direct or indirect connection with the Pergamene; both are relief-representations of the Gigantomachy, and in the figure of Zeus and some of the giants' forms on the former, and in the pose of Zeus and Apollo on the latter relief, we are reminded of some of the sculpture of the large altar.<sup>6</sup> It is unfortunate that we do not know the 'provenance' of any of that large group of statues in Naples, Venice, the Louvre, and elsewhere, representing barbarians, Amazons, and giants, and derived in some way from Pergamene originals. If M.

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, v. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Published in the *Mon. del. Inst.* ii. 41, and by Furtwängler in *Collection Sabouroff*, vi. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxxviii. 39, and Strabo, 641.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull. de Corresp. Hell.* 1889 (Janvier), Plate XI.

<sup>5</sup> Telmessos is among the places mentioned by Livy as ceded to Eumenes II. by the Romans for his help in the war against Antiochus. Livy, xxxviii. 39.

<sup>6</sup> *Vide* Overbeck, *Atlas zur Kunst Mythologie*, Bd. I. Taf. v.; cf. *Mon. del. Inst.* III. xv.

Reinach's theory that they are copies from Asia Minor of works at Pergamon or Athens could be proved, they would afford the most striking instance of the wide diffusion of Pergamene influence throughout Asia Minor. We might suppose also that it spread to some of the adjacent islands, but at present archaeology has offered no proof of this. Naturally the island which stood in the closest relation to the Attalid capital as a centre of art was Rhodes, but the question how this relation should be expressed may be reserved, as it raises the whole question concerning the Laocoon.

In tracing this influence throughout later art it might be well to follow first the clue afforded by certain themes which Pergamene art had made especially its own. That which was most strictly proper to this locality was the myth of Telephos. Originating in Arcadia, it received there no expression<sup>1</sup> in art except at the hands of Scopas, who carved on the temple of Tegea that part of the myth which possessed the greatest Hellenic interest, the battle between the Greeks and Mysians. But elsewhere in Greece there were representations of certain details of the legend. The healing of Telephos, owing doubtless to the influence of the Attic drama, had become a theme of fourth century art, as Professor Robert has pointed out,<sup>2</sup> and we may conclude from Pliny's<sup>3</sup> statement that this subject was treated by other schools of Greek painting besides the Pergamene. We cannot therefore refer off-hand to some work of this school as the archetype of each of the later representations of the various parts of the Telephos legend, but only when the style of such monuments points in this direction.

This is especially the case with those monuments of the Greco-Roman period which represent the discovery of Telephos, who is sucking the roe while Heracles is looking on.<sup>4</sup> The most striking of these is the Pompeian picture;<sup>5</sup> the figure of Heracles agrees with that in the similar representation of the smaller Pergamene frieze; and the expression of the face is proper to this school; and certain details also suggest that this is a copy of a Pergamene original—the fringe on the drapery of the goddess, who probably personifies the mountain Parthenion, and the type of the lion who stands behind Heracles.

We may compare with the Pompeian picture the same representation showing marks of the same style on the terracotta relief belonging to the Berlin Antiquarium, in which the arrangement of some of the figures and the pose of Heracles, who is holding up his club before him and touching his

<sup>1</sup> In Tegea there was also a temple and a statue of Auge, *ἐπονομαζομένη Ἀργη ἐν γόνασιν* (Paus. viii. 48, 5); this probably has no reference to the myth of Telephos' birth, but the pose *ἐν γόνασιν* and the evidence from ancient Spartan sculpture—a representation of a kneeling woman between two divinities of childbirth, published *Mitth. d. deutsch. Instituts*, 1885—suggest that the worship and the statue at Tegea refer to Eileithyia, and the name Pausanias gives us may be due to a popular mis-

understanding.

<sup>2</sup> *Bild und Lied*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 45.

<sup>4</sup> I have suggested in *Hell. Journ.* 1886, that in all probability this group is an original invention of the Pergamene school; there is only negative evidence for this belief, and even this is not complete as long as we do not know the date of the representation of Telephos and the goat seen by Pausanias at Helicon: ix. 31, 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide* Zahn, iii.



chin with his hand, are different, but which shows the type of features common to works of this class. In the representation on the Cameo of Commodus in the Berlin Museum, where the same scene appears, the attitude of Heracles is again somewhat different, as he stands with both hands held down in a less meditative posture.

A later moment of the same drama is marked by the representation in the Louvre of the infant Telephos in the arms of Heracles: a work that may be a good Roman copy of a Pergamene original. The face of the hero is of the same type here and in the Pompeian picture; and the bodily forms recall those of the Glyconian statue.

We can scarcely doubt that this latter, the colossal Farnese Heracles, is a work wrought under the influence of the same style; but the view that it presents a type that was originally devised for the group of Heracles and Telephos can no longer be maintained. For in the earliest example of it—a fine tetradrachm,<sup>1</sup> of Alexander, the hero stands alone: and in the wall relief found at Alyzia,<sup>2</sup> of nearly the same age, the solitary figure of Heracles is seen in nearly the same attitude. We cannot describe this type as that of Heracles gazing on his son, or of Heracles with the apples of the Hesperides, for it is only in a very few of the later instances<sup>3</sup> that the hand which is behind his back contains the fruit, but simply as one type of the resting Heracles. This then was borrowed for the theme of Telephos by the Pergamene school, who borrowed so much, and was modified so far that the right arm was brought across the chest; from what ancient work or from what older sculptor they derived it we cannot determine. For of the different reasons that have been brought forward for assigning it to Lysippus, none is of any scientific value; and the Farnese statue, in its exaggeration of the merely physical force, in its 'mountains of gross flesh,' in the realism of its details such as the treatment of the veins and eyelids, is very far from the style of Lysippus as we know it from record or from monument, but shows in the body at least a later development or degeneracy from the Pergamene style. The head is not distinctly Pergamene but its forms may be traced back to the latter part of the fourth century.<sup>4</sup> In fact only one representation by this school of the Heracles countenance has been preserved, namely in the relief of Prometheus and the vulture at Berlin; and as the face of Heracles is here youthful, it does not show any very close affinity to the Farnese type.

In later representations of the giants we find, as we might expect to find, that the influence of Pergamene style has been considerable.

We must of course remember in this connection the dying giant at Naples, but for reasons above given it cannot be regarded as a striking achievement of

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3, Ser. III. Taf. I. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Heuzey, *Mont Olympe et Acarnanie*, Pl. XI.

<sup>3</sup> In nearly all the instances the hand with the apples is modern; a genuine example is the coin of Philippopolis struck in the reign of Caracalla (Müller-Wieseler, *Denk. d. a. K.* I. No. 155). On the other hand nearly all the antique representations of Heracles with the

apples are of quite different type; e.g. Clarac, *Musée de Sculpt.* Pl. 787, 1969, 1971.

<sup>4</sup> As Helbig (*Annali dell' Istituto*, 1868, p. 336) has shown by comparing it with the head of Heracles in the Museum of Bale, which he supposes to be of good Greek period, but which seemed to me rather to be excellent work of the early Roman period.

this school. Of far greater importance and in far nearer relation to this art is the head of the dying Alexander at Florence which I have before compared in detail with some of the heads of the frieze; and we may even say the same of the little fragment from Trebizond in the British Museum which was published in the *Hellenic Journal*, year 1886. A fragment in the Central Museum of Athens may be mentioned here because in my opinion it belongs to a representation in relief of a gigantomachy in a style closely resembling the Pergamene, though the marble is different from that found so abundantly on the site of Pergamon. It has been described and photographed in the *Mittheilungen des deutschen Instituts*,<sup>1</sup> and my observation of the original confirmed the impression which the photograph gives, that it is a monument of the Greek period. It is a naked male torso with traces of a large curl of hair on the shoulder (Fig. 3).



FIG. 3.

The pose is violent and the body distended as of one giving back from a blow and desperately defending himself, for the right arm is uplifted and he seems falling forward to the right; or we might imagine that the right arm was brought back over the head and we might interpret the whole posture by means of the very similar figure in the Pergamene frieze of the youthful giant overthrown by Athene. As the limbs are thus at full stretch we do not see that massing together of the muscles which is so noticeable in many figures of the larger Pergamene frieze, but the muscles are large and rendered with

<sup>1</sup> Year 1880.

much softness, and these soft surfaces, the dramatic and pathetic posture, the rendering of the diaphragm and of the strained columnar throat, the hint of the flowing masses of hair, are reasons that speak strongly in favour of the above interpretation.

It is needless here to enumerate those later monuments of the Gigantomachy published in Overbeck's *Atlas zur Kunst-Mythologie* that show nearly or remotely the influence of Pergamene work; many of these have already been mentioned in these papers, and in some cases the illustrations in Overbeck are evidence sufficient. A very important monument of this class which has strangely remained hitherto without much notice is a statuette about 3 feet 6 inches in height belonging to the Museum of Carlsruhe<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 4). The pose of the figure is not unlike that of the Athenian torso. It probably represents a human-limbed giant who has fallen on his knees in the fight, while his antagonist—a divinity who must have been attacking him from his left—was dragging back his head until it touched his shoulder: both the giant's arms are missing, but the left must have been outstretched in the attempt to press back his antagonist, and the right was probably raised towards the giant's head. The marble seems to be Italian and the work to belong to the early Roman period. The motive is the very commonest in the wide range of the representations of this myth, often used but not invented by the Pergamene school. The torso and the face, much of which seems to have been polished by the action of water, show the imitation and the exaggeration of the Pergamene manner: the lips which are so notable a feature of the type in question are here half covered with the beard, but the mouth is wide open; the eye-sockets are very deep and seem to have been hollowed out by a borer; the centre of the forehead is corrugated; the wild hair is tossed about in thick clusters; the muscle-surfaces of the torso are large and swollen. The work is said to have been found in the year 1883 in the ruins of a Roman villa near another statue which belongs also to this style. The Carlsruhe fragment is all the more interesting—unless the interpretation here given is wrong—because it and the group in Wilton House of Heracles and the giant are the only instances as yet discovered of the treatment of this myth by free sculpture.

To the early Roman, perhaps the Republican, period belongs the fragment in Naples, published in the *Archaeologische Zeitung* by Lange, 1883 p. 82, and no doubt correctly interpreted by him as the fragment of a giant who is serving as an architectural support. The figure is also partly dramatic, as the pose of the head and the expression of the features show that he is cowering beneath the thunderbolt. The Pergamene style appears unmistakably in the treatment of the hair, the eye, and the mouth. The giant's figure serving as an architectural support is found in early Greek and in late Roman art: among such monuments may be mentioned one—so far as I know un-

<sup>1</sup> Photographed and briefly noticed by Lanciani in the *Bull. della Commiss. Archæol. Comunale di Roma*, xii. year 1884, p. 213-214, who suggests that it represents a Prometheus

bound; he compares other representations of Prometheus, e.g. Millin, *Gall. Myth.*, Pl. XCIII., but the Carlsruhe fragment proves that the legs were posed differently.



FIG. 4.

published—in the museum at Trier, an architectural fragment with several figures of giants, of little importance except as showing in the features and treatment of the muscles the distant influence of the work of the Attalid group of sculptors.

Other later works dealing with the same theme may be mentioned to show the long survival of the earlier style. The Igel monument, erected by a noble Roman family of Trier, still stands on the left bank of the Moselle some six miles above the city, scarcely impaired by the changes of seventeen centuries. It preserves many figures of the old mythology and religion, and on the north side, up the face of one of the Corinthian columns, is a figure in relief that is derived from the artistic tradition of the Gigantomachy, a young giant half-sinking to the ground with his arm over his head in an attitude that recalls the figure in the corner of the relief on the staircase of the great Pergamene altar.

Perhaps the most interesting monument of sculpture that has survived on German soil from the late Roman period is the mysterious monument found at Merten near Metz and now preserved in the Museum of the latter city. It has been published and described in the *Revue Archéologique*,<sup>1</sup> but the evidence which could precisely fix the date and historical reference has yet to be discovered. It is mentioned here on account merely of the curious group which crowns the edifice, a cavalier in the cuirass of a Roman soldier striking down a half-human serpent-legged giant who holds a stone in his right hand while extending his left arm obliquely behind him. It is rough stonemason's work but not without spirit; the material is red sandstone; the face of the giant is very savage and shows an exaggeration of that traditional type of features that we are tracing. It is well known that the Gigantomachy like the battles of the Amazons was the symbol of the struggle between civilization and barbarism, and it would not surprise us to find in the neighbourhood of Metz a representation of the combat of the gods and the giants, or a historic representation of the contest between Roman and barbarian. But the sculptor of the Merten monument has confused the symbol with the thing symbolized: a Roman soldier striking down a giant is an unique and rather ludicrous motive.

So far as I am aware these are all the works existing in Europe that deal with this theme and preserve something of the manner of the Pergamene school of sculpture. But in cognate subjects, such as the combats of Bacchus with the Indians, we might expect to find reminiscences of this style: and we certainly seem to find them—so far as can be judged from a sketch—in the representation of a sarcophagus in the cathedral of Cortona.<sup>2</sup> The interpretation of the figures has been matter of difficulty, but probably the view of Klügmann<sup>3</sup> is correct, that it is a scene of combat between Bacchus with his following and the Indians. But if it was not for the fact that the enemies of the god appear to be issuing or retreating through the gateway of a city, and

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* the year 1879, Pl. II.

XXX.

<sup>2</sup> Published in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1845, Pl.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, p. 31.

that one of them wears 'anaxyrides' we might naturally suppose that the youthful warriors with their wild hair, their excited mobile features, were not Indians but giants, as is also suggested by their fighting with stones. It is not only their features but their action and forms that remind us of Pergamene work. The young Indian who throws himself in the way of Dionysos' chariot and threatens the Centaurs who are drawing it might be compared with the opponent of Artemis on the frieze of the great altar. We have here monumental evidence of the analogy that is sometimes expressed in literature between the Indian campaign of Bacchus and the Gigantomachy.

So far the traces of the Pergamene style have been noted in monuments that are known to have had some connection with Pergamon or that dealt with subjects that had been appropriated by its school. I shall afterwards try to show that the same style has touched the representation of subjects that had not necessarily this local connection: and that from its wide application we can ascribe to it a deep influence upon the later days of classic art.

L. R. FARNELL.

## ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1889-90.

AFTER the remarkable harvest of the last few seasons, some lull in the activity of explorers and the startling succession of new discoveries was to be expected. So far as the number and variety of results is concerned, it must be acknowledged that this season cannot compare with its predecessors; but a year which has yielded two so splendid acquisitions as the gold cups of Baphion, and the statues by Damophon from Lycosura cannot be said to yield to any in interest. Such discoveries as these are enough to show that we have as yet no reason to believe that the treasures buried in Greek soil are approaching exhaustion; the complete clearing of one site, such as the Acropolis of Athens, only frees energy that can as easily find an outlet elsewhere.

As was to be expected from last year's report, there is but little new to record from the Acropolis. The loose blocks, drums of columns, &c., have been reduced to an order that goes far to destroy the picturesque appearance of the mass of ruins. It is difficult to say what advantage can be gained by arranging everything in straight rows, but protests have proved useless. The tower of the minaret and the later casing of the west door of the Parthenon still remain, difficulties having arisen to prevent their projected removal. Few discoveries have resulted from this arrangement of the various blocks lying about. Some inscriptions will be found duly recorded by Dr. Lolling in the *Δελτίον*; and the lower portion of the well known colossal owl has been discovered and pieced on: the bird is now almost complete. Along the north side of the Parthenon, and at a short distance from it, has been found a row of five holes cut in the solid rock. Their position seems to show that they are later than the construction of the Parthenon; and if so it is hard to see any cause for their being made until mediæval times: similar holes elsewhere, *e.g.* at Paphos, were certainly not ancient, and were probably cut in comparatively recent times to serve as receptacles for grain or water.

Inside the north chamber of the Propylaea, commonly known as the 'Pinacotheca,' the soil has been explored down to the rock, and some portions of the cornice of an early building, apparently circular,<sup>1</sup> have been found built into its foundations. The ground has also been turned over down to the rock on both sides of the piece of 'Pelasgic' wall inside the 'Beulé' gate, but without very important results. The work of demolishing all later walls and houses round the entrance of the Acropolis has also been completed, and the sculptures from the Asclepieium, formerly stored in one of these, have been removed to one of the still

<sup>1</sup> This statement, as well as many others I express my obligation throughout, without quoting from the official *Δελτίον*. To it I wish to ing it in every instance.

closed rooms of the National Museum. The projected restoration of the south wing of the Propylaea has not been attempted; but at the two corners of the Propylaea facing the great staircase it has been discovered that there once stood the statues of horsemen which were seen and described by Pausanias, who doubted whether they were the sons of Xenophon or not. Portions of the inscribed bases and pedestals of these statues have been found, and it has been possible to restore the pedestal at the south corner, at the angle between the great staircase and the little steps leading down from the platform of the temple of Wingless Victory. The inscription is of sufficient interest to be quoted at length :—

Οἱ Ἰππῆς ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμιων, ἱππαρχόν-  
των Λακεδαιμονίου, Ξενοφώντος, Προνάπουν·  
Λύκιος ἐποίησεν Ἐλευθερεὺς Μύρωνος.

It is inscribed on the two opposite sides of the best preserved pedestal; the lettering is almost identical, but there are slight variations; and each reads a different way up. Both also are inconsistent in their characters, which appear to be an imitation or copy of an inscription of the middle of the fifth century. Dr. Lolling has given in the *Δελτίον* an exhaustive discussion of all these difficulties. It is at least clear that the original dedication and inscription must have been earlier than the building of the Propylaea; and that two restorations must have taken place, one probably when the Propylaea were built, and one later. In Roman times a yet farther vicissitude awaited this statue of a horseman; an inscription on the same pedestal in honour of Germanicus seems to show that it was adapted as a monument of his Olympian chariot victory in A.D. 17. Pausanias' story about the sons of Xenophon may perhaps result from a misunderstanding of a hurried note of the names in the inscription. The occurrence of the name Lycius as artist is of importance both for his chronology and that of his father Myron.

Before passing from Athens to the rest of Greece, I must record the progress made in the arrangement of museums and in the protection of the ancient sites. The Acropolis can now be studied with the help of Mr. Kawerau's plan,<sup>1</sup> which gives provisionally, and on a small scale, the results of the excavations which he has superintended. The large museum on the Acropolis has been definitely arranged for the present; and though much still remains to be done with the fragments of statues, buildings, and vases, future changes will probably only affect matters of detail. Small popular guides to the Acropolis and the Museum have been officially published; but a scientific catalogue is still anxiously awaited. A great change for the better has been effected in the region of the Dipylon gate and the ancient cemetery near it, where several of the most beautiful grave-reliefs still remain *in situ*. The whole space containing these antiquities has been surrounded by an iron railing, and they are thus protected properly and made accessible to study. The bank of earth containing formerly the main gas-pipe has also been removed, and thus the most confusing topography is made a little easier to follow.

The National Museum is now the chief centre of activity in Athens. As

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This had not yet appeared when Mr. May last year, though it was published before Mr. Schultz prepared his plan for this *Journal* in Mr. Schultz's appeared.



some confusion seems to exist as to its name, last year's statement may be here repeated. It was formerly known as the Central (κεντρικόν) Museum, being thus opposed to the local collections (ἐπαρχιακά). The name Central sometimes survives, but has no longer an official existence, having been superseded by the title National (ἐθνικόν) Museum. Now that the Acropolis Museum is for the present reduced to order, Mr. Kabbadias and Mr. Stais are energetically re-arranging the National Museum, which is now almost out of the hands of the builders. Not only is the complete quadrangle and its central bar completed, but smaller corridors have been erected at the sides of all the older galleries: thus ample room is gained for the ever increasing acquisitions of the Museum. It is hardly worth while to record differences of arrangement, especially as the present order may not be the final one. But a word of protest may be raised against making the undoubtedly authentic Scopaic heads from Tegea yield the place of honour in the fourth century room to the very doubtful 'Eubuleus' head from Eleusis. Surely few who have seen the Hermes of Praxiteles at Olympia can accept the theory that attributes this to the same hand; yet apart from such a theory the head has no right to its place. The most important of the acquisitions of the National Museum last year consist of all the principal bronzes from Olympia, including the famous boxer's head and the archaic Zeus. The reason given for this change is that the damp climate of Olympia was affecting the preservation of the bronzes; but all will be glad to hear that, for whatever reason, they are now more accessible to students. Two rooms of terra-cottas and bronzes have been arranged, and are accessible by special permission, though not yet thrown open to the public. The fine collection of terra-cottas from Tanagra and elsewhere has been increased by the acquisition of a collection from Asia Minor, which affords a very interesting contrast. Among the vases the most conspicuous are those from Eretria found last year. The lecythi with Homeric scenes are especially interesting. One represents Circe; another Odysseus and the Sirens. The last is most interesting from its resemblance both in drawing and technique to the Cyrenaic vases, and seems to afford another link connecting the Attic white-slip vases with those of Cyrene and Naukratis. Two lecythi with the inscription Δίφιλος καλός may help in fixing the date of this class of vases, which must of course follow the red-figured vases to an earlier period than that formerly assigned to it. Another interesting acquisition is a small marble disc, with a seated man painted on it and the inscription, μνήμα τόδ' Αἰνέα σοφίας ἱατροῦ ἀρίστου. As Mr. Dragatsis has suggested, this is probably a portrait of Aeneas, the uncle of the great Hippocrates of Cos, and himself also a distinguished physician. It may have served as a sign or ornament in a doctor's or chemist's shop, much in the same way as the bust of Hippocrates is still used by chemists. In any case it is of great importance as a painted portrait of the fifth century; the preservation is tolerable, though of course the colours are much faded.

In Attica, outside Athens, some early tombs have been opened. Trials were made first at Belanideza, near Spata, on the site where the stelae of Aristion and Lyseas were once found; and then at the large tumulus near Bourbá. This last proves to be a mass of tombs of various periods. In the earliest there are traces of the burning of the corpse in the grave itself, numerous fragments of the wood remaining; an air-shaft seems to have been constructed to facilitate this process. Over the tombs was erected a structure like a sarcophagus of unbaked brick. It is stated that fragments of 'Mycenae' pottery were found in a tomb of a higher

level than this and consequently later. An account of this discovery by Mr. Stais, with plans by Mr. Kawerau, is promised.

Undoubtedly the greatest pre-historic discovery since those of Dr. Schliemann at Mycenae is the tomb excavated by Mr. Tsountas at Baphion, near Sparta. It is unnecessary to dwell upon this in detail, since Mr. Tsountas has already published a description of the tomb and its contents, together with excellent drawings of all the articles discovered, in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* for 1889. Especial attention may be called to the fact that it seems to have been an undisturbed tomb of the bee-hive type, now generally recognised as belonging to the later period of the 'Mycenae' civilisation; and that the discoveries are such as to confirm this view. In the tomb itself distinct traces of the use of lime-mortar are said to have been found. The gold cups with the bulls and men speak for themselves. Artistically they are far beyond anything previously discovered of this kind; but they still remain a complete puzzle, and no affinity to any known art can be seen in them. The collection of 'island-gems' is a splendid one, giving finer or clearer examples of the most interesting types; and the axe with two holes in its blade may well resemble those through which Odysseus shot his arrow.<sup>1</sup> This is the first example discovered upon Greek soil, though similar ones have been found before in Syria.<sup>2</sup> But a glance at plates 7-10 of the *Ἐφημερίς* will do more than pages of description to show the nature and importance of Mr. Tsountas' discovery. The excavations were made at the expense of the Greek Archaeological Society.

The most important discoveries at Lycosura are due to the suggestion of Mr. Cabbadias, who in July 1889 advised excavations there with a view to discovering the temple of Despoena and other remains of the ancient town; the work was in charge of Mr. Leonardos. Fragments of colossal statues which were discovered belong beyond a doubt to the group made by Damophon of Messene, and described by Pausanias; and thus we have another original work by a sculptor of the fourth century. The fragments recovered have been brought to Athens, and some of them are already exhibited in the National Museum. It seems doubtful whether they will suffice for a complete re-construction of the group, but three of the four heads survive. The four figures were Demeter and Despoena seated, and Artemis and Anytus standing behind them; the missing head seems to be that of Demeter, for one larger and two smaller heads remain, one of the latter being that of a bearded man, the other two of youthful female type. They all show a very distinct individuality of style. The most peculiar feature is the mouth, which has very full lips and is at the same time compressed sideways into a very narrow space, thus giving a peculiar expression. The hair also, especially in the male head, has the rough and matted character which belongs usually to post-Lysippean works. But until the publication of adequate reproductions of these heads, which we may hope for shortly from Mr. Cabbadias, it is not of much use to discuss their style; all that can be here indicated is their importance. In them and also in the drapery we may also see indications of the practice of another technique than that proper to marble; and this is probably to be attributed to Damophon's preference for acrolithic statues, which were, as has been well pointed out by Overbeck and others, the cheaper substitute of his day for the

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Warre's suggestion in this *Journal*, 1884, p. 213.

<sup>2</sup> So Mr. Greville Chester informs me.

great chryselephantine works of the fifth century. Thus in two of the heads the eyes were inserted in some other material; and the drapery has upon it most elaborate designs in low relief which are, at least in one case, spread over the whole surface of the garment. These remind us much more of the designs on the golden drapery of the Olympian Zeus than of marble work; they represent various forms of men, women, and beasts, and especially of monsters.

Other excavations have been undertaken by the Greek Government in the island of Aegidia or Anticythera, half-way between Cythera and Crete. Here Mr. Stais discovered the basis of a statue and also a temple belonging to Apollo Aegileus; he also discovered Greek fortifications and other remains. At Sparta Mr. Castromenos has excavated the Menelaion, and also reports that a mosaic has been found with portraits of Sappho and Alcibiades, and other subjects identified by inscriptions.

For the Greek Archaeological Society Mr. Philios has made excavations in the neighbourhood of Megara, and has especially investigated the topography of the road along the Scironian rocks. Among other things he thinks he has discovered the temenos of Zeus Aphesios.

The French School has continued its operations at Thespieae, where various trials have been made near the ancient town as well as in the Valley of the Muses, near the temples and theatre I referred to last year. At Tegea also some topographical investigations have been made, and parts of the ancient wall of the town have been discovered, as well as a few inscriptions. The same school has also now begun excavations at Episcopi near Damala on the site of the ancient town of Troezen, and has worked in conjunction with Mr. Carapanos on the site of the ancient town at Corfu.

The German School has not been able to undertake much excavation this year, as Dr. Dörpfeld has been employed in helping with the excavations of the German Institute at Rome in Southern Italy, and also in working with Dr. Schliemann in the Troad.

The American School has continued its excavations at Plataea, Dr. Waldstein and all the students of the School sharing in the work. They have made a plan of the district, with the especial view of elucidating the account of the battle of Plataea, and have discovered another portion of the Edict of Diocletian, in Greek this time; last year they found a portion of the preamble in Latin. The excavations do not seem to have identified with certainty any of the temples or other buildings of the ancient town.

This year the British School also has taken its share in the work of excavation in Greece. In Cyprus Mr. Munro and Mr. Tubbs have been excavating at Salamis for the Cyprus Exploration Fund; but the members of the School in Greece have also been able to undertake work upon a large scale at Megalopolis. A full report of this work will appear elsewhere. Excavations were first begun on the north side of the river Helisson, on the site of the ancient agora, and a great part of a long stoa along its north side (stoa Philippeios?) was discovered, as well as some foundations near the river to the south-east, before work was interrupted by difficulties as to compensation for the crops. The excavations were then transferred to the theatre; and it was found that the stage was in very fair preservation, and had not, like so many, been tampered with in Roman times. The lowest rows of seats are also perfect, and contain inscriptions. The stage is different from others, such as that at Epidauros, and is of especial interest since its

foundations, with doors, seem to be at a higher level than we find in other cases, and to have steps in front leading down towards the orchestra. It is premature to say more of this at present, but the theatre can hardly fail, when cleared, to be among the most important yet investigated in Greece. At the back of the stage is a square portico, and two altars have been found in the neighbourhood; one of them is of considerable size (36 ft.  $\times$  6 ft. 3) and is ornamented with triglyphs; it may be the altar of Heracles or of Ares mentioned by Pausanias. A tumulus on the north of the river, and to the east of the town has been opened; it is probably that described by Pausanias as the tomb of Aristodemus. It was full of tombs of various periods, mostly late; some gold ornaments were found in a cylindrical marble urn; but they are not of early date. The work is under the supervision of Mr. Loring, Mr. Richards, and Mr. Woodhouse, with Mr. Castromenos as Government Ephor.

In Byzantine matters not much has been done by the Government. Daphne remains as it was last year, but that the scaffolding has been removed from the dome. Meanwhile another Italian artist is expected. St. Luke also remains in its deplorable condition. The Greek Society of Christian Archaeology has done something in Athens, and its collection of antiquities has now been opened. Excavations have also been made in the church of St. Andreas under the direction of Mr. Lambakis. Mr. Schultz and Mr. Barnsley have made good progress with their drawings of the Byzantine churches of Greece, and intend also to proceed to Mt. Athos during the summer, where similar work is much needed.

E. A. G.

P.S.—The controversy as to the statue on the Acropolis associated by Dr. Studniczka with the basis inscribed with the name of Antenor has already attained considerable dimensions; but its importance is very great, not only because of the particular statue concerned, but also as affecting the very principles of archaeological evidence. The last contribution is that of Dr. Heberdey, in the *Mittheilungen* of the German Institute at Athens for 1890. I am glad to have been able to discuss the question before the statue itself with Dr. Wolters, Dr. Heberdey, and others, and so to appreciate and understand their view of the matter. It is fair to Dr. Heberdey to add that his paper, being dated March 1890, must have been written before this discussion took place, though it has only just appeared.

It will be best to repeat first, as briefly as possible, the arguments already adduced. Dr. Studniczka, supported also by Dr. Wolters, gave the following grounds for the connexion of statue and base; correspondence in (1) size, (2) shape, (3) depth of plinth, (4) size of clamp-hole, (5) position of clamp-hole.

To this I answered in this *Journal* (1889. p. 278) that 1, 3, and 4 were of very little weight as evidence; that 2 could not be pressed, as the plinth was broken away on all sides, and so its original shape was only a matter of inference; and that 5, the only apparently valid argument, was erroneous in point of fact, for it is impossible to mount the statue on the basis so that the two clamp-holes correspond in position.

Dr. Heberdey acknowledges the accuracy of my statement and measurements as to point 5; and so Dr. Studniczka's main argument at once collapses; this was also acknowledged by Dr. Wolters and all others present at the discussion of the question. I did not however state that the connexion of statue and basis was

impossible, as I might have done, supposing the holes to be made for the insertion of an iron clamp to hold the basis to a statue and the statue to a basis ; but merely asserted that trustworthy evidence for the connexion was entirely lacking.

Dr. Heberdey next propounds a theory that the two holes have no connexion whatever with one another ; the lower one is, he says, merely a channel, enlarged at the top, for pouring down lead to fix securely the top of the basis to the pillar on which it rests : as to the upper hole, in the plinth of the statue, he suggests that the large cavity above the hole in the basis was filled with lead, that a projecting pin was let into this lead, and that on to this pin the statue was lowered, the hole in its plinth serving to guide the workmen in this process. I do not wish here to discuss the probability of the latter part of this theory ; it does not appear convincing, and the nearest analogy Dr. Heberdey can quote is the pegs in the centre of the drums of the Parthenon columns, which do not seem very similar in purpose. But I would point out that Dr. Heberdey completely rejects any attempt to connect the holes in plinth and basis, and calls any argument based on such a connexion worthless. Thus, he says, my chief argument disappears ; he should rather have said that Studniczka's chief argument disappears, and so my refutation of it is superfluous.

Returning to the evidence for the connexion of statue and basis, Dr. Heberdey can only assert that according to his theory it is not impossible to bring the hole in the plinth above the wide cavity over the smaller hole in the basis ; thus it is not impossible that the two may belong, but as much may be said of any statue and basis about the same size.

Arguments 4 and 5 have therefore entirely disappeared ; 1 and 3 are, as I before pointed out, quite worthless as evidence. Nothing is left then but 2, the correspondence in shape between the socket in the basis and the outline of the plinth ; how much this evidence is worth may be seen by a glance at Dr. Heberdey's illustration (p. 127 *art. cit.*). The outline of the plinth is preserved only in a very small portion ; and nowhere does it either approach the edge or follow the curve of the socket in the basis, while in all other connected plinths and sockets the fit is exact. But one question will decide the matter. Can any one assert that, apart from argument 5 (as to position of clamp-holes), Dr. Studniczka's theory would ever have met with general acceptance ? I doubt whether, without this argument, he would ever have thought the theory worthy of publication ; but certainly neither he nor others would have thought of making it a foundation for long and important discussions of Attic art. Now this, the only valid argument, has entirely disappeared, as is acknowledged by all who have investigated the matter. Yet instead of at once relegating the theory based upon it to the numerous class of probable but unproved hypotheses, useless as a basis for scientific work, attempts are made to retain the theory after the evidence upon which it is based has been rejected, and to prop it up by other arguments or theories which would never have sufficed to gain it acceptance in the first instance. It is not too much to say that such a practice is subversive of all scientific work in archaeology ; and the importance of the results in this case is so great that a really strong protest is necessary. When so valuable and interesting a paper as that of Dr. Gräf in the same number of the *Mittheilungen*<sup>1</sup> takes its start from an unproved hypothesis like this, the loss to

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Gräf's paper was written, I believe, before my first disproof of Studniczka's theory.

archaeology is too great to be passed over. It is therefore to be hoped that archaeologists will not continue to accept a theory after they have rejected the evidence on which it is based ; and that they will, without any preconceived notion, begin anew the weighing of the evidence for the connexion of the statue with the basis of Antenor. All that is now left of that evidence cannot, I think, suffice to convince any unprejudiced judge of more than a possibility, or at most a probability, of this connexion. And on a mere probability, in so important a matter, no farther arguments or theories ought to be founded.

E. A. G.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens.** JANE E. HARRISON and  
MARGARET DE G. VERRALL.

It is no exaggeration to say that this book is the most important archaeological publication that has appeared in England for some time past. It is eminently a practical work : the writers knew exactly what they wished to do and have done it. Miss Harrison expresses her aim in the Preface as being to illustrate and unravel the Attic mythology, and with that end in view to take Pausanias as her guide, commenting on all relevant remains of Greek art, as well as the monuments of Athens, and including for the sake of completeness a few monuments that have no mythological significance. Thus the book is not merely an essay on Greek mythology and an admirable pattern of the way in which myths should be treated, but also a scholarly guide-book. Mrs. Verrall has translated the portion of Pausanias' *Attika* which deals with Athens, omitting historical digressions, and the translation divided into portions is prefixed to each chapter. It is as a rule faithful, but is not quite free from mistakes.

The introductory essay is an admirable piece of work, suggestive and inspiring. Miss Harrison has made the subject of vase-painting peculiarly her own, so that she knows—what no one can know without study—exactly how they are to be used. It is very rarely therefore that she presses their evidence too far : she does not endeavour to reconstruct out of them lost poems, but insists that they give glimpses into the popular accepted mythology of their period. The aetiological method which she has pursued is very sound, and gives many quite convincing results. Thus in dealing with the birth of Erichthonios, she shows how the story of the opening of the chest is invented to explain the ritual of the Arrephoroi, and in many instances, how genealogies may have been framed with an object in view to appropriate a foreign hero, or to clear up an unmeaning ritual observance. The theory that myths danced in pantomime influenced representations is equally novel and attractive. From her treatment of Triptolemos as the grain-giver (p. l. for which she might have compared Paus. viii. 4, 1), of Theseus (p. xcvi.), of the story of Dionysos and the pirates (p. 250), one derives much instruction. The unsatisfactoriness of much hypothesis is most strongly felt in the story of Erigone and the Aiora festival. The vase (fig. 6) might as well have been omitted ; -αλη is obviously καλή, and why is the picture 'to be taken as a charming and vivid representation of what must have gone on at the Aiora' ? The Kodros-vase is

admitted to be of doubtful interpretation : but one must protest against any even hypothetical construction of mythology out of its miscellaneous assortment of names. The interior of the Hieron kylix (p. ci.), is the only case in which we hold Miss Harrison is absolutely wrong in her interpretation. The text is very complete and systematic : all possible authorities including scholiasts and inscriptions have been brought together. There is a profusion of illustrations, which will give some idea of the extant remains to those who have not visited Athens. It seems ungracious to complain, but the small scale of several of the reproductions from photographs renders them worthless. Those *e.g.* on pp. 78, 94, 300, and 494 are useless even to those who have seen the spots : and often the illustrations will only serve to supplement a defective memory. Still if the book can—as we hope it will—serve as an inducement to many to visit Greece, its usefulness will be proved in a very practical way. The latest literature, the newest theories, the final evidence of excavations have all been laid under contribution, and the reader may feel sure that what he reads represents the present level of scientific opinion, though the scope of the book does not allow discussion of the early sculpture discovered on the Acropolis. Miss Harrison is well acquainted with the latest writings of Loeschke, Robert, von Wilamowitz, and others : but the peculiar value of her work is that it embodies the views—often as yet unpublished—of that master of topographical study, and coryphaeus of architectural archaeology, Dr. Dörpfeld. To those who have not had the privilege of hearing his eloquent expositions on classic sites, it is something to have a summary of them in her pages, particularly with respect to the Theatre, when we are all impatiently awaiting his publication. Meanwhile it would be obviously unfair to him to express a final opinion on an exposition of his views, which though authorized by him is not his own. Of his unique generosity it would be impertinence to say a word of praise. We notice that Miss Harrison differs from him only on the question of the old Athena temple. Her fresh attempt to make Pausanias see and describe it is no more successful than his. If Dr. Dörpfeld had limited himself to the position that it was re-built after the Persian Wars, instead of descending to the expedient of a lacuna in Pausanias, he would have received a more favourable hearing. Miss Harrison, not willing entirely to desert her high authority, divides into two what is usually supposed to be a description of one building, the Erechtheion : but does not succeed in bolstering up a bad theory. In the discussion of the East pediment of the Parthenon, her predilection for vases has surely led her astray into the extraordinary idea that the art of Pheidias could represent a doll-Athena rising out of the head of Zeus. The restoration of this pediment is an unprofitable and insoluble problem, but this idea at least one must deprecate. Nor does it seem a happy suggestion, that one of the river-gods in the West pediment is the sewer Eridanos ! The most modern views on Enneakrounos, the 'Theseion,' the Agora, and the Theatre are expounded with lucidity and force, and though surprising to those who have not followed the latest researches will, except perhaps in the case of the Theatre, be conclusive. Many minor matters have been cleared up by her industry. Those who have tried to use guide-books for archaeological purposes know how soon even Baedeker and Joanne fail, much more Murray, and will be duly grateful for her explanation of the Asklepion, the choragic monument of Thrasyllus and the Dipylon, to take a few typical cases. The book is so nearly complete, that one may note a few points, where the second edition might be enlarged. The Tower of the Winds and the



construction abutting on it might have been touched on more fully : the question of the road through the Propylaea, how it went and whether the chariots ascended, is not treated : the myth of Talos (i. 24, 4 ; i. 26, 4), might have been illustrated from vase-paintings : the inscription of 'the statues of the horsemen' might well be added and commented on : and one would have been glad of more discussion of the early palace remains and 'Pelasgian' construction on the N. side of the Acropolis.

Enough has been said to show the excellence of this work. Miss Harrison's style is lively and vivacious to the last degree, and her power of lucid exposition makes her pages pleasant reading. As a help to the archaeologist it will be stimulating, and as a propaedeutic for all who would visit Athens quite indispensable.

G. C. R.

**Schliemann's Ausgrabungen in Troja, Tiryns, Mykenä, Orchomenos, Ithaka, im Lichte der heutigen Wissenschaft dargestellt. CARL SCHUCHHARDT.**

THIS work is not, as the title might lead one to expect, a scientific criticism of Dr. Schliemann's excavations. It is confessedly popular, but popular in the best sense, being accurate without any sacrifice of interest. The author is well qualified for the task, for he spent rather over two years at work in Greece, chiefly at Mycenae, and besides this he enjoys the friendship of both Dr. Schliemann and Dr. Dörpfeld, and is well acquainted with their latest views.

The book opens with a short life of Dr. Schliemann, much on the lines of his autobiography in 'Tiryns.'

Then follows an account of the 'Troja' remains, in which the identification of the second city with the Homeric Ilios is accepted without reservation. A special chapter is devoted to the demolition of Captain Bötticher's latest *brochure*.

The excavations at Tiryns receive, comparatively speaking, less attention, and no attempt is made to connect them in any way with the Homeric poems.

The Mycenae antiquities, on the other hand, are treated of very fully, and in fact take up more than two-thirds of the book. Not only is Schliemann's work described, but that of M. Tsuntas is well summarized, and an excellent map of the Acropolis of Mycenae as it stands after his excavations added.

In the better known, earlier excavations Dr. Schuchhardt has arranged his material with some skill, and has laudably kept the articles found in the various graves quite distinct from one another. He has besides added some twenty-three new sketches of his own of objects hitherto unpublished.

All that is problematic and polemical is to be found in the last chapter, where the position in History of the Heroic Age is considered. A strong protest is made against the theories of Köhler, Studniczka, and Dümmler that the Carians were the people to whom the 'Mycenaean' civilization belonged. The claims of the Homeric Achaeans to the position are stated with much force, and a sketch of the extent and nature of the civilization given. The earliest and latest dates, as fixed by the scarabaei and other Egyptian monuments found, are assumed to be 1500-1000 B.C. In conclusion, the theory is propounded that the Trojan war, which occurred in this period, was an expedition of the 'Mycenaean' Achaeans to punish Asiatic pirates who had raided the Peloponnese, but that the epos describing

it was not written, or rather collected, until after the Dorian invasion had swept the 'Mycenaean' civilization away.

It will be seen from this short account that even to those who possess the larger works on Troja, Tiryns and Mycenae, Dr. Schuchhardt's book will be of value, not only as bringing them up to date, but also in showing the connecting links between the several discoveries. To those who have no access to the originals there is no need to recommend the work, for in it they will find the pick of their illustrations and maps, and that too in a handy form and at a low price.

W. C. F. A.

### Kyrene, eine altgriechische Göttin. FRANZ STUDNICZKA.

THIS book has grown out of a paper read in 1887 before the Archaeologische Gesellschaft at Berlin, by Professor Studniczka.

The starting-point of the treatise is the Cyrenaic vase found by Mr. Petrie at Naukratis (*Naukratis* I. plates 8, 9). To prove that it was not made at that town, but in Cyrene, the whole class of vases to which it belongs is examined in a most masterly way.

A double connection with Sparta on the one hand and Egypt on the other is traced in their *technique* and subject-matter, as well as the inscriptions.

Two new points deserve special mention. On one of the vases a throne is represented on which the legs of the back are carved as the hind, not as the fore, legs of an animal. Dr. Studniczka shows that the only Greek instances of this are in early Spartan bas-reliefs, though it is very common in Egyptian monuments. Still more striking is the identification of the seated figure of Zeus (generally called Prometheus) on another cup with the Ζεὺς Ἀνκαῖος on Arcadian coins, for Herodotus tells us of a Διὸς Ἀνκαίου ὄχθος at Cyrene. As to the vase from Naukratis, the interpretation already given by Mr. E. A. Gardner in this *Journal* is fully worked out. The Nymph holding branches of silphion and apple, who stands in the centre, is the Hesperid, Cyrene, the mother of Aristaeus, the first planter of silphion. The puzzling winged figures who fly on both sides of her are explained as Harpies, or wind deities, in accordance with the passage which Dr. Max Meyer has discovered in Philodemus (p. 43 ed. Gompertz), where the Harpies and Hesperides are spoken of as being identical. The whole picture then becomes an allegory of the Winds who favour the growth of the silphion and apples which the Hesperid nymph, Cyrene, protects.

An unpublished fragment of a relief in the treasury of the Cyrenaicans is next considered. It represents the torso of a female figure, who is wrestling with the lion. A comparison with a relief and a statuette from Cyrene in the British Museum shows that this is the goddess Cyrene. The figure seems to have been part of a pedimental relief, to which also a fragment of a cock found with it probably belongs. Even this cock serves Professor Studniczka's purpose, for he is able to show that it has a curious row of feathers down its back which are otherwise only seen on cocks of Cyrenaic vase-paintings. He then examines the myth of Cyrene as told by Pindar and later writers; how the Thessalian huntress was seen by Apollo strangling a lion, and borne by him to Cyrene, where she became the mother of the great nature-god, Aristaeus.

The problem how a Thessalian nymph came to be the patron deity of a Dorian

city leads to an examination of the legends which tell of the founding of Thera and Cyrene and the genealogies connected with them. Their discussion occupies more than half the book, and so complicated is the argument that it is impossible to criticise or even epitomize it off-hand. The net result however is, that the population of Thera before the invasion of the Spartan Aegidae were not Phoenicians, but Minyae from Thessaly. They had come by way of Boeotia, where they were known as Cadmeans, a name which is not, as is generally assumed, Phoenician, but Greek. These Minyae revolted under Battos against the Dorian supremacy of the Aegidae, but failed in their attempt, went into exile, and founded Cyrene. This startling theory is accompanied by many remarks by the way, which are not less novel. Thus we learn, for instance, that Pindar did not belong to the family of Aegidae, and that the oracles concerning Cyrene quoted by Herodotus (which are shown to be forgeries by their traces of the Dorian dialect) are excerpts from an epic collection made by Battos, and attributed to Mopsus.

The nymph Cyrene, who thus came from Thessaly to Libya with the Minyae by way of Thera, is no mere personification of their city, and cannot accordingly derive her name either from it or from the hill *Κύρη* near it. It is rather the other way about, as is shown by the fact that the name is found in other parts of Greece.

The true derivation, Dr. Studniczka finds in the fact that Cyrene was a double of Artemis, Thera being her hunting-ground, just as the *Κόρη θήρα* near Lebadea was. Her father, Hypseus, too, must be the same as the great mountain-god, known elsewhere as *Ύπατος* or *Ύψιστος*. She had as sisters the nymphs of the Arcadians, Kallisto and Themisto, who, like her, belonged to the old Cadmean-Minyan mythology. The connection with Artemis suggests that the name is derived from the root of *κύριος* and *κυρώω*, and that it is in this character that she is represented as *ποτνία θηρῶν*, under the form of the 'Persian,' or 'Asiatic Artemis.' This type of a winged goddess strangling lions or other animals is not Oriental, but genuinely Greek, and was used not for Cyrene alone but for other goddesses, such as Medusa and Nemesis. As applied to Cyrene, it is best seen in a painting on a fragment of a 'Melian' vase, which probably comes from Thera. (Furtwängler, *Berl. Vasensamml.* Nr. 301).

Owing to the influence of the Epos, Cyrene was reduced to the rank of a heroine, and it is only in connection with the city she presided over that her former greatness was remembered. Even there her son Aristaeus was more popular. Pindar, however, speaks of her as *χρυσόθρονος* (*Pyth.* 4. 260), and from this Professor Studniczka infers that she had a temple as Polias, in which her seated statue formed the centre of the local city cult.

This temple he recognizes on the map given by Smith and Porcher on the hill where he believes Battos founded his city. However this may be, he admits that in historical times the chief feast of the city was the *Ἀρτεμεία*, for even in Cyrene Artemis soon supplanted her ancient rival.

Two appendices are added to the work—one on Phalanthus, the founder of Tarentum, by the author; the other on Hector, by Dr. Dümmler. In this latter, the grave of Hector, which Pausanias saw near Thebes, is taken as the text for the contention that the older lays, from which his exploits were borrowed by the Homeric rhapsodists, came from Boeotia. To explain the journey of the lays to Aeolia, a theory based on the *Ion* is propounded, that the island of Chios was

settled by colonists from Euboea and Boeotia, who drove out the aboriginal Carians. As we know that the Carians worshipped Hector, this makes the chain complete.

W. C. F. A.

**Die Neu-Attischen Reliefs.** FRIEDRICH HAUSER.

THIS is a very useful work, and sheds light on one of the most difficult questions in regard to ancient monuments, namely the exact nature, purpose, and date of archaistic sculptures. Mr. Hauser's method is exhaustive. He gives a detailed description of the known reliefs of the neo-Attic school, beginning with those which bear the signatures of Salpion, of Sosibius, and of Pontius, and proceeding to the consideration of other reliefs which bear the same character as these. He finds the most general character of these reliefs not in their affectation of the style of any one period, for the style varies greatly, but in the paratactic principle of their composition. Their producers seem to have had by them in stock the schemes of figures taken from reliefs of various ages, and to have combined these figures into new compositions without regard to unity or consistency. Of these schemes many are due in the author's opinion to the invention of the toreutic workers, more particularly to Calamis. Nor do the changes introduced by the copyists of later ages in types originated by great masters appear to be more than slight and superficial. 'Im Archaistischen mehr echt Altes steckt, als man gewöhnlich annimmt.' The main arguments on which this view is based are the occurrence in the same composition of figures belonging to various periods and schools of art, and the recurrence in reliefs representing quite distinct subjects of figures identical in design, and bearing no satisfactory relation to the groups into which they are introduced. Useful sketches of fifty of these recurring schemata are engraved in the plates. Among the earliest of archaistic reliefs, Mr. Hauser places those of the Corinthian puteal discussed by Prof. Michaelis in this *Journal* (1885, p. 48, Pl. LVI., LVII.), which he regards as not really dating from early times, but rather from the fourth century B.C. In the course of the work Mr. Hauser has occasion to discuss a great number of ancient monuments, and to glance at a multitude of archaeological problems: his remarks show great care as well as boldness, and will be very welcome to those to whom the discrimination of archaistic from archaic work is an attractive subject.

P. G.

**Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs.** C. ROBERT. Vol. II. Mythologische Cyklen.

We have at length a volume of the great Corpus of ancient sarcophagi undertaken many years ago by the German Archaeological Institute, and executed with vast labour by F. Matz and C. Robert. The second volume, comprising the reliefs of sarcophagi with mythological subjects comes out first, and it is doubtless the most important of all. The whole work is to be finished in seven volumes. Probably it is only those who do some work on a Berlin Corpus who have any idea of the enormous expenditure of time and pains which they involve; and the savants who undertake them, with no hope of reward, deserve the gratitude of the learned world. We cannot presume in a few lines to estimate the merit of the work before us: but we cannot refrain from expressing disappointment in one respect, that the illustrations are not more frequently produced by photography

(sometimes it is impossible), and that they are upon so small a scale. It still remains the fact that there are no representations of sarcophagi, except those in the Vienna *Verlegeblätter* which can be used in class-teaching; for which reason the testimony of these valuable monuments is generally undervalued. In this Corpus the sarcophagi could have been figured on a much larger scale at a cost by no means proportionately greater; and it seems a great pity that the chance was lost. Considering the cost of the work, some £11 for this one volume, we feel this defect to be serious. Otherwise the book is a monument of labour and ability.

P. G.

**The Attic Theatre. A. E. HAIGH.**

ALTHOUGH all English classical students are supposed to know something of the Attic stage, there has been hitherto no work to which they could be referred, except Donaldson's, which is out of date. The recent work of Albert Müller on *Bühnenalterthümer*, and Dörpfeld's excavations in Greece have paved the way for a sound and scientific investigation of the ancient theatre, and these qualities strongly mark Mr. Haigh's book, which is a credit to English scholarship, learned, sound, and full of common-sense. Mr. Haigh treats alike of the history of the Attic drama, of the mode of production of plays, and of the antiquities of the theatre. On many vexed questions, such as the admission of women to the performances, the style of acting and the like, he propounds definite views, which it will not be easy to overturn. He does not admit the theory recently advocated by Dörpfeld of the non-existence of a stage in the theatres of the fifth century, views based upon the supposed testimony of existing theatres in Athens, Epidaurus, the Piræus and elsewhere, and accepted by Kawerau in his article *Theatergebäude* in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*. Of course until Dörpfeld publishes all the grounds of his views they cannot be finally set aside, but Mr. Haigh makes out a very strong case against them. The book contains many illustrations; but none which are without authority. It is no small boon to be rid of the misleading engravings which have deformed some previous works.

P. G.

## THE ALKMENE VASE FORMERLY IN CASTLE HOWARD.

[PLATES VI., VII.]

IT has often been a matter of regret that a Greek vase of much importance as to subject and unique in being the work of a particular painter named Python was inaccessible except by a visit to Castle Howard in Yorkshire. That, I am glad to say, is no longer necessary. The vase has become the property of the British Museum. But there remains a difficulty of another kind. The vase had been published in 1837 by the French section of the Institute in Rome,<sup>1</sup> but so rare has that publication become that very few English students have ever seen it. We propose now to remedy that matter by a re-publication of the vase (Plates VI. and VII.).

The characters in the principal scene are Alkmene, Amphitryon, Antenor, Zeus, Eos, and two Hyades. Except these latter, each figure has its name attached to it. But, though the names are plain enough, the interpretation of the scene has been a subject of controversy. Originally the scene was described as the 'Apotheosis of Alkmene,' against which there was at least this objection that in the legend Alkmene had survived Amphitryon, and could not therefore in her apotheosis be assisted by him, as that explanation of the vase would imply. In 1872 the question was re-opened by Engelmann<sup>2</sup> in connexion with another vase, now also in the British Museum, on which the same subject occurs in an abbreviated form. Engelmann argued that the meaning must be this: Amphitryon has come back from the wars, and, being enraged at the reception given him by his wife, has determined to take vengeance on her, whereupon she has fled for refuge to an altar followed by him and his friend Antenor. Instead of dragging her from the altar they proceed to sacrifice her on it, building up a pyre of wood in front and fetching torches to light it. Alkmene in this extremity very naturally appeals to Zeus, who comes to her aid, hurling his thunderbolts and sending a tempest of rain to put out the fire. On some points of detail Engelmann is wrong, but on the whole this explanation of his seems to me right.

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<sup>1</sup> *Nouvelles Annales de l'Institut*, 1837, pl. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1872, p. 5.

In the centre of the picture we have Alkmene seated in great distress appealing with upstretched arm to Zeus who is partially visible in the upper part of the scene. Amphitryon and Antenor are about to light with torches the pyre which they have heaped in front of her. Zeus has hurled his thunderbolts at them, but apparently these thunderbolts, though they have fallen close to Amphitryon and Antenor, are only meant as accessories to indicate the thunder and lightning which accompanied the tempest of rain, that being the chief feature in the response of Zeus to Alkmene's pleading. The tempest is represented partly by a rainbow enclosing a black space thickly dotted with drops of rain and partly by two Hyades above the rainbow who pour down streams of water from a hydria. The presence of Eos (ΑΩΞ) marks the time of the incident as early morning. A similar figure occurs in the upper field of a vase with Cadmos at the fountain.<sup>1</sup> There she holds a mirror, and possibly on our vase it has been a mirror also.

It may be mentioned here that Alkmene is described by Engelmann as seated on a pyre ornamented with a frieze, and by Klein as seated on a sarcophagus: but neither is right. She has fled to an altar for refuge and is seated on it. Among Greek altars this shape is not uncommon, nor is the ornamentation by means of triglyphs unusual. The altar of Jupiter Milichius in Pompei is ornamented exactly in this way by a band of triglyphs along the top.<sup>2</sup> The rest of the altar would be hid behind the pyre.

In support of this interpretation of the scene there appears to be no direct evidence in the legends of Alkmene handed down to us. The story told by Hyginus makes Amphitryon go no farther in his anger than refuse to stay with Alkmene any more. There is no word of positive vengeance. So also in the *Amphitryo* of Plautus the injured husband abstains from violence. It will be remembered, however, that in Plautus the climax is reached by Alkmene appealing to Zeus, who answers her by sending a terrific storm of thunder and lightning, amid which she gives birth to Herakles and Iphikles: *Streptitus, crepitus, sonitus, tonitrus; ut subito, ut procre, ut valide tonuit*. It is that storm no doubt which we have on our vase. But Plautus seems to have known another version of the storm. In the beginning of the *Rudens*, as Engelmann has pointed out, he calls a violent storm an 'Alcmene of Euripides,' and the inference is that a violent storm had been a principal feature in the lost drama of *Alkmene* by Euripides. Among the fragments of that drama that have survived, there is a line<sup>3</sup> which I think may be assigned to a dialogue between Amphitryon and Antenor at the moment represented on our vase. One or other of them might very well have asked, 'Where did you get that torch of pine?'

πόθεν δὲ πεύκης πανὸν ἐξεύρες λαβεῖν;

<sup>1</sup> Millin, *Gal. Mythol.* II. pl. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, *Pompei*, 3rd ed. p. 90. Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, ii. p. 731, observes that the seat is like an altar but supposes it to be placed above the pyre, and therefore misses the point that she

had fled to an altar for refuge.

<sup>3</sup> Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 368: the line is quoted by Pollux, 10, 117 to show πανός = λαμπάς.

It is not unusual to find on painted vases illustrations of the dramas of Euripides. They have been conveniently collected in a memoir by Dr. Julius Vogel.<sup>1</sup> Euripides was in fact the favourite poet of the vase painters, and that was not strange considering his love for effective incident. But in this instance it has struck me as curious that he should have chosen for his *Alkmene* a scene so much resembling the end of the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles, where Herakles commands that he be carried up Mount Oeta and then placed on a pyre of oak and wild olive which is then to be lit with a torch (v. 1193)—

καὶ πευκίνης λαβόντα λαμπάδος σέλας  
πρήσαι.

When this was done, and when the pyre was lit, says Apollodorus (2, 7, 7, 6), a cloud with thunder carried up Herakles to the heavens; and this is



illustrated on a vase,<sup>2</sup> where we see him ascending in a quadriga driven by Victory above a pyre on which lies a human trunk. One might say of him, 'he came in a storm and went in a storm,' and if that view of his life was current in antiquity we could understand the impulse of Euripides to do for the birth of Herakles what Sophocles had done for his death. In the *Trachiniae* (v. 1087) Herakles implores Zeus to send a thunderbolt and put an end to his pain. Later on (v. 1139) he speaks of the manner of his death having been foretold, and recognizes the prophecy in the poisoned chiton of

<sup>1</sup> *Scenen Euripid. Tragödien in Griech. Vasengemalden.*

<sup>2</sup> Gerhard, *Ant. Bildwerke*, pl. 31.



Nessos. We may suppose that it had also been foretold him that his body would be burnt on a pyre before he was yet dead, though of course to reveal that in so many words would mar the climax of the drama. He reveals it in his commands to make the pyre. At all events the new vase tells us very plainly that, just as the death of Herakles was attended by sacrifice fire and storm, followed by a new life among the gods, so also his birth in this world had been attended by circumstances of that same nature.

So far I have spoken of the vase as an illustration of the *Alkmene* of Euripides, just such a scene as the painter may have observed on the stage when that drama was acted. But it should here be explained that the vase is about a century later than the time of Euripides, and that the production of the great tragedies on the Athenian stage had ceased long ago. Either then our vase is a direct copy from some old, contemporary illustration of the drama, which is not altogether improbable, or it is a new and fresh realization of a scene witnessed during a revival of the drama elsewhere than in Athens. There is much that points to the latter view. In shape and method of execution the vase belongs to a large class, found mainly in Southern Italy, on which it is common to see grotesque representations derived from the comic stage, as it existed in Tarentum and Lower Italy in the third century B.C. The farces (*φλύακες*) that were then in vogue had for one of their aims to parody the old tragic dramas that were then being revived and were commanding attention in Lower Italy. There is a very large number<sup>1</sup> of vases from Italy illustrating these farces, and they are curiously consistent in their shape and method of execution. As I have said, our new vase has much in common with them in these respects. But it seems earlier a little than any of them. It has preserved more of the traditions of the grand age. It is in no sense the illustration of a farce, and yet there is something quaint in the figure and action of Amphitryon, doggedly bent on setting fire to the wood in spite of thunderbolts and storm. By giving him this importance in the scene an almost comic element is thrown into the play, and this is the impression which is made on me also by the famous vase of Assteas, a vase which is always spoken of along with our new one. We can hardly look without a smile on the Assteas vase with its picture of Herakles in his madness setting fire to his furniture and proceeding to throw his child on the flames, so quaintly is the scene presented to us, and yet how tragic is the whole! Similarly on a large vase of ours with Lycurgos slaying his children the scene is tragic, but the aspect of Lycurgos and of several others of the characters is extremely quaint. Much the same may be said of another Museum vase representing Dolon, Odysseus and Diomedes. There also the incident was tragic enough; nor is it intentionally given on the vase in a comic manner. Yet the effect is certainly odd. Klein<sup>2</sup> describes it as something like a ballet scene with three solo-dancers, but he uses this comparison merely to express his sense of the quaintness of the scene, not at all to describe the intention of the painter. No less curious is the apparent large-

<sup>1</sup> Heydemann, *Jahrbuch* 1886, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> *Euphrosios*, 2nd ed. p. 144.

ness of style in the drawing of the figures on these vases, especially on the Dolon vase. It has a tendency to reach a culmination in the heads of the figures, which are much exaggerated in size and in expression. I can only suggest as a possible explanation of this phenomenon that the actual revival of the old Athenian tragedies which took place in Southern Italy in the third century B.C. had been itself attended by marked elements of exaggeration, that actors had sought for new interpretations of the old characters and incidents while at the same time striving to retain the lofty manner and large style of the old plays, and that the effect of the whole was something like an approach to caricature, which the clever wits of the day would soon perceive. At all events the clever wits of the day did make huge fun of these revivals, whether for the reasons I have suggested or not, and it is equally a fact that a number of clever vase painters followed closely in the wake of the wits. In one of the vases of this class in the British Museum we see a parody of a scene from a drama of *Alkmene*. It is coarse in every sense, but in one technical matter it affords a comparison with our new Alkmene vase. I refer to the use of a peculiar red colour with white spots painted on it such as you see on the dresses of the Hyades. So far as I know, that precise colour is unusual on vases. There is something like it in the archaic black figure vases, but with this difference, that the white spots on them are not painted on above the red colour, though much ingenuity is occasionally shown to make them look so. They are placed close beside the red, and were fired in the same firing with it, whereas on our new vase the white spots involved an extra firing, and therefore betray a more complicated, more advanced method. I do not say expressly that we have here a revival of an archaic process, though it is a fact that in a very large series of late vases from Southern Italy—the class known as Apulian vases—there is a very obvious return to the archaic spirit in some points of detail, such as in the employment of rosettes on the vacant spaces of the design. In no sense is this a deliberate imitation of the strictly archaic use of rosettes, and yet it betrays an evident return of the archaic spirit in some measure. Then again it is to be remembered that among late vases there is another considerable series which imitates the very archaic vases of the geometric style. The imitation, though far from exact, yet reproduces the general colour and form of these very archaic vases in such a way as to give at first sight an impression of great antiquity.

I have mentioned these points of detail because they seem to lend some support to the view that the revival of the old Attic tragedies in southern Italy in the third century B.C. had been attended with a forced revival of the old artistic spirit also, and that this forced spirit is reflected in the group of vases to which the new one belongs and in which the Dolon and Assteas vases are the most conspicuous examples. These vases seem to me in their quaint way to reflect the honest but infatuated effort of the time to revive the old tragedies, just as the great mass of vases from the same localities but a little later in date reflect the grotesque farces which drove the revived tragedies out of the field.

The painter of the vase signs himself Πύθων ἔγραφε, reminding us by his

use of the imperfect instead of the aorist ἔγραψε of a vigorous controversy. Pliny<sup>1</sup> had extolled the ancient artists of the grand time for their modesty in employing the imperfect tense to show that their work was incomplete. He professes to have only known two or three who did otherwise. But we have now a very large number of artists' signatures, and they do not bear out the statement of Pliny. There is no such regularity as he implies. On the other hand, among the archaic signatures of sculptors there is certainly a considerable love for the imperfect, and this appears to have been revived among the late sculptors in Rome, who imitated the archaic manner. So that for our present purpose we may also claim the signature on our vase as an affectation, rightly or wrongly, of an old Greek manner.

On the reverse the subject is Dionysos advancing between the Maenads. In the upper field and half hid among hills are Pan and a Satyr with a figure between them which used to be called Semele,<sup>2</sup> but may be Ariadne. Pan has both hands raised in astonishment. His face resembles a Satyric mask. His goat's legs are partly visible.

It remains only to add that in the matter of colouring the vase was found to be a good deal restored, not so as to alter the facts, but yet to the extent of disfiguring the drawing in some respects. These restorations have been removed, and the new illustration shows the vase without them. The two vases held by the Hyades had been turned into two very ugly amphorae. They are now seen to be hydriae, as they ought to be. The thunderbolts also were badly restored. One handle of the vase has been broken in antiquity, and repaired with lead in a curious and interesting manner.

A. S. MURRAY.

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<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* Praef. 26. See Brunn, *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. viii. p. 234; *Probleme in der Vasenmalerei* p. 4 and *Gr. Künstler* ii. p. 650: Jahn, *Vasen der Pinakothek*, p. cx. and Klein, *Euphronios*, 2nd ed. p. 51.  
<sup>2</sup> Brunn, *Gr. Künstler* ii. p. 732.

## RECENT DISCOVERIES IN EASTERN CILICIA.

[PLATE VIII.]

HEARING of extensive and unidentified ruins on the banks of the river Jeihan (the ancient Pyramus) at a spot now called Bodroum to the east of the Cilician plain, just as the river enters the plain from the gorges of the Anti-Taurus, we determined to visit the site. The result of our explorations, made in the early months of this year, are as follows.

Our route took us past the rock of Anazarba and Kars Bazaar, at which places we decided to spend a few days, and though the spots have both been previously described we were able to add a few points to the information concerning them, both epigraphical and topographical.

ANAZARBA.—Caesarea penes Anazarbum, as Ptolemy calls it, was second only in importance to Tarsus of the cities of Cilicia during the days of imperial Rome, and was the metropolis of the eastern portion of the great plain. The town was built at the foot of a long rocky mountain, rising like an island out of the plain for the extent of three miles and attaining an altitude of 2,000 feet. The walls as they at present stand are of Armenian and Saracenic construction, enclosing a parallelogram, one side of which is protected by the mountain; but they contain many portions of Roman work, notably the great southern gate formed by a triumphal arch erected in the time of Justinian, when that emperor restored the town after it had been ruined by an earthquake. These walls, still almost intact, were surrounded by a moat and a second outer wall roughly put together out of the *débris* of the old Roman walls; amongst this *débris* we found three inscriptions (Nos. 6, 8, and 11), and a column about thirty yards outside this wall was inscribed with No. 12.

Inside the walls the remains of the town are so ruinous that they afford very little hope of identifying any sites or reconstructing a plan of the town; but from some fallen columns I imagine a long colonnade ran through the centre of the town from Justinian's gate, similar to that at Pompeiopolis; this indeed was a favourite mode of decoration in the Cilician towns. The flat space inside the walls is now used as winter quarters by a tribe of some sixty Afshars, who inhabit a few huts constructed out of the reeds which grow in the neighbouring marshes; in these huts we lived during the three days of our stay at Anazarba. The spot is terribly unhealthy during the summer heats and entirely deserted then. There are the stately ruins of two

aqueducts which brought water from the mountains to the town across the plain, and the ruins of several buildings of no special interest outside the walls; but a close examination of the mountain itself yielded a few satisfactory results.

To the south of the mountain is a stadium three quarters of a mile long with rows of seats still discernible cut in the rock. To the front of the stadium ran a colonnade of Corinthian columns; at the back the long straight rock of the mountain had been chiselled to form a promenade, and the wall behind had apparently been decorated with inscriptions and honorary tablets which have long since disappeared. Above this wall is a vast sea of rock-cut tombs and sarcophagi with inscriptions (nearly all obliterated) of late Roman and of early Christian date, of which No. 10 is a specimen.

At the north end of the stadium is a cleft in the rock a few yards wide, almost separating the southern from the main portion of the mountain, with a path through it leading over to the eastern side. In this deep cleft are several rock-inscriptions, almost entirely obliterated, with the exception of No. 7: this is cut in a circle under a cross, and points to the cleft having been used in Christian times as a refuge in times of peril.

Proceeding northwards we find traces of several public buildings—the theatre cut in the rock, several fallen columns, tombs and bas-reliefs, one of which latter, though much effaced, is worthy of note. It has five figures upon it, four of them nude athletes; to the left one man holds up another by the left leg whilst he walks on his hands, and the right leg hangs loosely down; to the right are two nude boys, and in the centre stands a figure robed in a toga, holding a chaplet in his right hand and a palm-branch in the other. Against this relief is a small altar cut in the rock with a half-moon over it: above is a tomb with a long but obliterated inscription.

Rock-cut steps lead behind the theatre to the acropolis on the summit of the mountain. To the right and left of this ascent are numerous rock-cut ornamentations, including several stelae, a large vase, altars, &c. The ruins at the summit are all of Armenian date, and a small church has a long Armenian inscription round it (see V. Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie*). From the summit a clear idea of the strategical importance of Anazarba can be obtained, the isolated mountain-rock being protected on two sides by rivers which unite a little to the south, namely, the Pyramus and the stream now called the Sombaz.

Proceeding along the line of mountain to the north of the town we came across two points of interest. About 200 yards from the walls by an exceedingly difficult ascent of about eighty feet a large arched cave is reached, high up on the walls of which is inscription No. 4. It was impossible to get near enough to take a squeeze, but by standing on a projecting rock with the aid of glasses I copied it as it here stands.

Half a mile further north, approached by a gentle slope, is a cave-tomb; above it is a long inscription presumably in verse, carefully obliterated with a chisel; above this again is a relief in two portions with legend No. 5. On the right relief the three Erinyes are represented; Teisiphone is seen with a

snake in her hand, Allecto has an axe over her shoulder, but what Megaira carried it was impossible to make out. On the relief to the left are also three figures; Crocos seated on a chair, Papes standing, and a woman standing to the right, whose name is obliterated.

**KARS BAZAAR.**—Kars Bazaar is a cluster of villages about four hours' ride from Anazarba, at the foot of the mountains; the river Savroon flows just below it. It has a considerable amount of ancient remains, but no traces whatsoever of walls. Here stands an early Christian monastery surrounded by a wall and cells; the church in the centre has been converted into a mosque, but neither outside nor inside could we find any inscriptions. Three stelae with inscriptions have been used as supports for the balcony of the school; two are given by Davis in his *Asiatic Turkey*. The third is No. 3, and is interesting as giving us the same names as No. 5, from the cave at Anazarba. From a cottage wall we got No. 2.

Used as the floor of a reed cottage we found an exceedingly fine tessellated pavement, on which after we had had it washed we found the Christian dedication No. 1. The letters occupied a space of about two square yards, and the pattern surrounding them is very elaborate in tesserae of black, red and white, with a border. Many other tessellated pavements are scattered about in the streets and houses of Kars Bazaar; but though the place was of considerable importance and had its guild of fullers, yet we could find no inscriptions by which to identify its name; possibly it may have been the site of villas and summer residences for the inhabitants of Anazarba. Flaviopolis, the first stage on the northern road, must be either here or at Sis, as both towns are on a river. It is difficult to decide, for the coins of Flaviopolis represent it as situated on a stream (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 603). After a close examination of Sis, I could find no trace of anything earlier than Armenian remains; hence I am inclined to place Flaviopolis at Kars Bazaar.

Proceeding along the edge of the plain to the south-east we reached the banks of the Pyramus in about three hours after leaving Kars Bazaar, at a spot called Hemita Kaleh. Here a spur of the mountains comes right down to the river, leaving just room for a small village of reed huts inhabited by Afshars. Along here passed the ancient road eastwards, which eventually crossed over into Syria by the Amanides pylae, a few miles behind the modern village of Osmanieh. This valuable strategical point was protected by a castle on the summit of the spur; the castle is of mediaeval date, though bearing ample evidence of being built on a structure of earlier time. There are considerable traces of ancient workmanship along the edge of the mountains, rock-cut tombs, sarcophagi, &c. These we glanced at as we went along, and after a two hours' ride along the road between the Pyramus and the mountain, our ultimate destination was reached, namely, the vast ruins now known as Bodroum.

About half a mile from the ruins we found a tribe of Afshars encamped in reed huts, with their flocks, on the first slopes of the mountains. Amongst these we took up our abode during our stay at Bodroum, and

hired workmen to assist us in turning over stones with a view to the identification of the site.

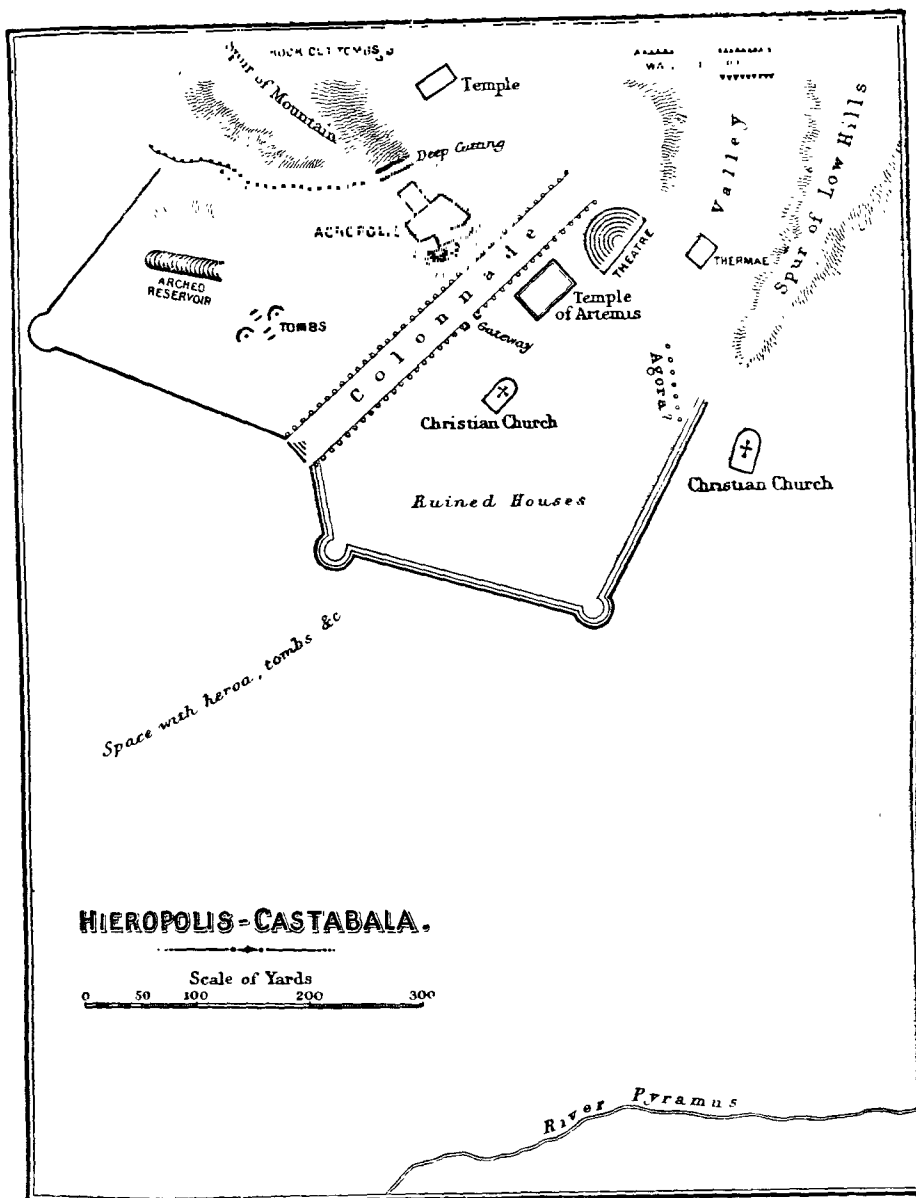
**BODROUM.** The ruins of Bodroum are situated on rising ground about three quarters of a mile from the Pyramus, the intervening space being thickly covered with remains of heroa and other buildings. The line of the ancient walls is not very easy to follow, being mostly in ruins and overgrown with grass and brushwood: but the accompanying rough plan gives an approximate idea of the town, whilst the map of the district is compiled from two sketch maps made by Major Bennett from his own survey and material supplied by Professor Ramsay, who has kindly placed them at my disposal. From a distance the most conspicuous object is the acropolis. It is built on a spur of the mountains, similar to that at Hemita Kaleh, which penetrates into what was the centre of the town: it is crowned by a mediaeval fortress constructed out of the ancient ruins with many pieces of carving let into it, altars with bulls' heads and garlands, architraves, &c. Behind the acropolis is a cutting in the rock, forty feet deep, separating it from the spur and with an ancient road passing through it, joining the eastern and western portions of the town. Along the spur ran the aqueduct, cut in the rock, which supplied the town with water from the neighbouring hills; and there are traces of large reservoirs for the storage of water within the precincts of the walls.

Of the ancient remains in the town the most conspicuous are those of the long colonnade, with a double row of columns; it started from the southern gateway and is still traceable for a distance of 320 yards, terminating at the back of the theatre. The columns are of a red and blue conglomerate and closely resemble, though less ornate, the columns of the long colonnade at Pompeiopolis. They have Corinthian capitals and Ionic bases; the diameter of the shafts is 2 ft. 8 in., the height  $20\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The space for the road between the two rows is 35 ft., and the columns are at regular intervals of 8 ft. About half-way up the eastern side was a gateway and, as far as it was possible to calculate, each row had about seventy-eight columns, only thirty of which (including both rows) are left standing, and very few of these in perfect condition. The colonnade was erected on a wide platform with a gentle ascent, passing at the foot of the acropolis and flanked by fine public buildings; so that the effect, before the town was reduced to ruins, must have been exceedingly striking. One peculiar architectural feature was noticeable about some of the columns on the higher elevation, a feature which we also noticed in the colonnades of Pompeiopolis and Olba. A narrow drum was let in to the centre of the shafts with a stone bracket made in the same block, presumably to carry a statue with an inscription beneath. This same feature is noticeable also in the long colonnade at Palmyra leading to the temple of the Sun, and would appear to have been a fashionable feature in the Roman architecture of Eastern Asia Minor.

The theatre is large, much larger than that of Anazarba; but it is a later one, and built, not cut in the rock. The length of the proscenium is sixty-two feet, but it was too ruined to obtain measurements of the rows of seats and







To face p. 235.

diazomata. An Afshar family inhabit it, with their flocks; so the place is naturally buried with refuse.

For some time we were unable to come across any inscriptions to guide us as to the name of this ancient city; but after a systematic search and the turning over of likely stones we succeeded in collecting fifteen in all, which enabled us to identify it beyond a doubt, and collect several interesting facts concerning its history. The nomads who live in the neighbourhood of the ruins during the winter and spring months have a burial-ground a little distance up the hill-side to the west of the city; they have placed over the graves, generally upside down, inscribed stones from the ruins, and with the same material they have constructed two threshing-floors just above the theatre. From these two sources we obtained the largest number of inscriptions, namely, Nos. 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27 and 28, which put us in possession of the facts that the town was anciently called Hieropolis, and that it was a seat of the worship of Artemis Perasia. Close to the colonnade in the centre of the town are the foundations of a large building, presumably the hieron and temenos of a temple. Within these precincts we dug up a stele with inscription No. 16 upon it, and the natural conclusion is that this ruin is the site of the temple of Artemis Perasia, from the revenue of which an honorary stele was erected to the legate M. Domitius Valerianus.

In the upper part of the town, on the spur of mountains, are several rock-cut tombs and foundations of public buildings, which unfortunately yielded no epigraphical results. But down in the valley below we were more fortunate in our researches. In the ruins of a Christian church we found inscriptions Nos. 23 and 26, and by the side of some columns, which may possibly have been the agora, we found inscription No. 25 on one long slab. A little further up the valley are the ruins of *thermae*, and, beyond this point, walls of sustentation to prevent the soil of the mountains from being washed down into the town.

The apparently conflicting evidence of Strabo as to the site of Hieropolis-Castabala as being in Cappadocia has been ably discussed by Mr. Hicks in his note to No. 14. I will only add here that in the Frankfort edition of Ptolemy a note is affixed in the margin to the name Castabala, '*Perasia prius dicta*.'<sup>1</sup> And assuming that Strabo is right and that a Castabala existed in Cappadocia near Tyana and Cybistra, the additional appellative of Hieropolis, which Strabo does not give, may have been added to distinguish the one on the Pyramus from the other, and to indicate that it was the original seat of the worship of Artemis Perasia. Assuming this to be the case, the extraordinary point is that Strabo, who is so accurate in all his details concerning the geography of Asia Minor, should omit so important a place as Hieropolis-Castabala on the Pyramus.

J. THEODORE BENT.

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<sup>1</sup> Published 1605 by Gerardus Mercator and Petrus Montanus.

## INSCRIPTIONS FROM EASTERN CILICIA.

## INSCRIPTIONS FROM KARS-BAZAAR.

KARS-BAZAAR is about four hours from Boudroum; in its situation it agrees with Flaviopolis, standing on a branch of the river Pyramus, at the foot of the mountains. Unfortunately none of the inscriptions reveal the name of the site.

## 1.

‘A very handsome tessellated pavement in a cottage, with an elaborate pattern, in the centre of which is the following legend.’ Copied by Mr. Bent.

ΥΠΕΡΩΤΗΡΙΑΚΤΟΥΕΥ  
 ΤΕΛΟΥΣΣΥΝΕΡΓΙΟΥΤΩΝ  
 ΓΝΑΦΕΩΝΤΗΝΜΕΤΡΙΑΝ  
 ΗΜΩΝΤΑΥΤΗΝΚΑΡΠΟΦΟ  
 5 ΡΙΑΝΔΕΧΟΥΔΕΣΠΟ  
 ΤΑΠΑΡΑΤΩΝΑΧΡΙΩΝΣ  
 ΟΥΔΟΥΛΩΝΠΑΡΕΧΩ  
 ΝΑΦΕΣΙΝΑΜΑΡΤΙΩΝ  
 ΤΑΙΧΜΕΤΕΡΑΙΣΨΥΧΑΙΣ  
 10 ΚΑΙΚΑΛΗΝΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑΝ

Ἵπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ εὐ-  
 τελοῦς συνεργίου τῶν  
 γναφέων τὴν μετρίαν  
 ἡμῶν ταύτην καρποφο-  
 5 ρίαν δέχου Δέσπο-  
 τα παρὰ τῶν ἀχρίων σ-  
 οῦ δούλων, παρέχω-  
 ν ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν  
 ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς  
 10 καὶ καλὴν ἀπολογίαν.

Probably from the floor of an early church. Dedicated by the guild of fullers. It is interesting to see these trade-guilds, so common under the Empire in Asia Minor, passing unchanged into the Christian Church. For *συνέργιον* = *συνεργασία*, see *C.I.G.* 4346 and *Addenda*, p. 1163 (from Side). The phrase *ἀχρεῖοι δούλοι* is from St. Luke xvii. 10 (cp. St. Matt. xxv. 30),

and frequently occurs in the old Greek liturgies. For *καλὴν ἀπολογία* compare *Liturgy of Constantinople* (Hammond's *Liturgies*, p. 105): *καλὴν ἀπολογία* τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Our inscription does not look later than the third century.

2.

'Small round stelè at Kars-Bazaar.' Copy by Mr. Bent.

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

ΕΠΙΘΥΜΗΤΟΣ

Ἐπιθύμητος

ΠΕΡΣΙΤΩΠΑΤΡΙ

Περσὶ τῷ πατρὶ

ΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ

μνήμης χάριν.

Περσὶ is the dative of Περσεύς.

3.

'Three round stelae have been placed to support the columns of the present school at Kars-Bazaar. Two of these were copied by Mr. Davis, and published in his *Asiatic Turkey* (1879), p. 125. The third, which is somewhat obliterated, is as follows.' Copy by Mr. Bent.

ΡΗΓΕΙΝΟΣ

ΡΗΓΕΙΝΑΤΗΘΥΓ

ΚΑΙΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ

ΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ

5 ΜΝΗΜΗΣ

ΧΑΡΙΝ

Ῥηγείνος

Ῥηγείνα τῇ θυγ[ατρὶ

καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης

τῇ γυναικὶ

5 μνήμης

χάριν.

The two inscriptions copied by Mr. Davis may be restored as follows; he notes that in (a) 'the name Commodus has been carved in place of another name erased.'

(a)

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ  
Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι  
Κομμόδω θεῷ  
Σεβαστῷ  
Ἰουλιανὸς Ἀσκληπιάδου  
γ. τοῦ Δημητρίου, ἱερεὺς  
τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος.

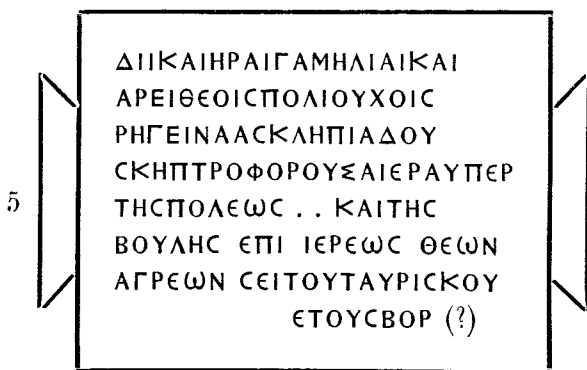
(b)

[T]ε. Κλ. Ἀδαῖος  
Ἴλ<λ>αρεῖνη  
τῇ γυναικί, καὶ  
Ποπι(λ)ιανὸς  
τῇ ἀδελφῇ, καὶ  
Δομετ<τ>ία ἡ μ(ή)τηρ  
μνήμης χ(ά)ριν.

## INSCRIPTIONS FROM ANAZARBA.

4.

‘High up in an almost inaccessible cave in a mountain behind Anazarba, with the aid of field-glasses I read the following inscription.’ Copy by Mr. Bent.



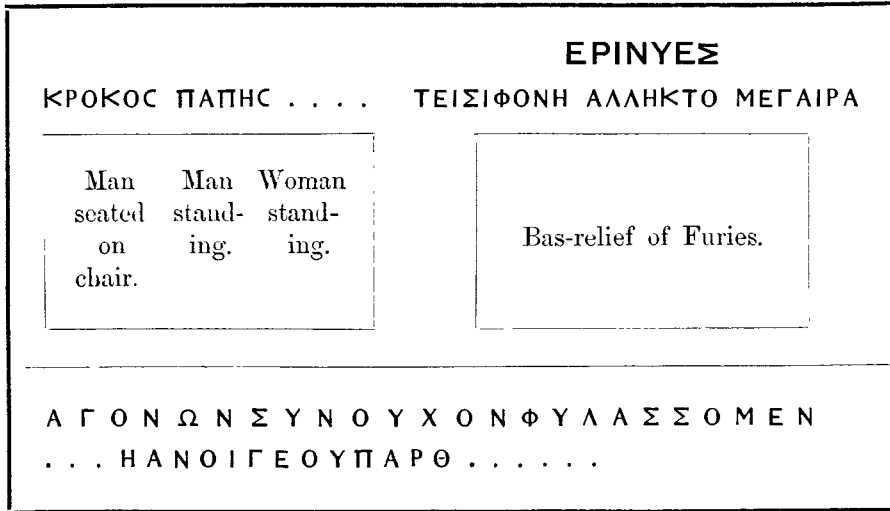
Δὴ καὶ Ἡρα γαμηλία καὶ  
 Ἄρει θεοῖς πολιοῦχοις  
 Ῥηγείνα Ἀσκληπιάδου  
 σκηπτροφοροῦσα ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ  
 5 τῆς πόλεως [τε] καὶ τῆς  
 βουλῆς, ἐπὶ ἱερέως Θεῶν  
 Ἀγρέων Σείτου Ταυρίσκου.  
 ἔτους Βορ.

Dedication by Regina, a priestess, on behalf of the city and boulè of Anazarba, to the gods of the city. We may infer that Regina belonged to the same family which is referred to in No. 3. Mr. Bent is not sure of the numeral letters ΒΟΡ, but they appear correct. The coins of Anazarba (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 598) show that two eras were employed, one commencing B.C. 19, the second A.D. 20. Our inscription accordingly dates either from A.D. 153 or A.D. 192. I prefer the earlier date both because of the *iota adscriptum* (line 1) and the inconsistent use of ΕΕ, ΣΣ.

Hardly any inscriptions from Anazarba are known: a few fragments are published by Le Bas-Waddington (Nos. 1513—1518). This document informs us of the βουλή, names the chief deities of the city, and speaks of the worship of the θεοὶ Ἀγρεῖς (on whom see *Hellenic Journal*, x. 1889, pp. 55—57). Whether their priest was the usual eponymus of the city, or is only named here because the document is a dedication, we do not know. I doubt the name Σείτος.

5.

'Inscription and bas-relief over a rock-cut tomb in the same mountain : copied, with sundry mistakes, by Davis in his *Asiatic Turkey*, p. 150.' Copy by Mr. Bent. Imperfectly given, from a copy by Langlois, by Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.* No. 1513. Mr. Davis gives an indifferent woodcut of the whole relief.



Followed below by a long, presumably poetical inscription, purposely obliterated by the knife.

The headings are easily read :

Ἑρινύες·

Κρόκος· Πάπης· [ἡ δέινα].      Τεισιφόνῃ· Ἀλληκτ(ώ)· Μέγαιρα.

The inscription below is apparently much injured, and the copies fail us.

LE BAS.

DAVIS.

ΤΟΝΦΝΙΝΟΥΧΟΝΦΥΛΑΣΣΟΝ	ΑΤΟΝΩΝΣΥΝΟΥΧΟΝΦΥΛΑΣΣΟΜΕ
CHANOITEΟΥΝΑΡΦΣΙΙΠΙΙΞΙ	ΙΗΑΝΟΙΓΕΟΥΠΑΡΘ

Following the guidance of our three copies, we may perhaps try and restore the text somewhat as follows: "Ἀγον(ο)ν εὐνοῦχον φυλάσσομεν [ὑπερθευ] ἀν(ω)γέου παρθ[ένοι]. But this is very uncertain.

6.

'Anazarba: stone built into later wall of city (probably Saracenic).' Copy by Mr. Bent.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ  
 ΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΟΥΑΛΕΝΤΙΤΩΑΝΔΡΙ  
 ΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΗΤΗΝΕΠΑΝΩΘΗΚΗΝ  
 ΚΑΙΓΑΙΟΣΙΟΥΛΙΟΣΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΣ  
 5 ΕΑΥΤΩΤΗΝΑΡΚΤΙΚΗΝ

Ἰουλία Ἀθηναῖς  
 Γ. Ἰουλί(φ) Οὐάλεντι τῷ ἀνδρὶ  
 καὶ ἐαυτῇ τὴν ἐπάνω θήκην,  
 καὶ Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Σεκοῦνδος  
 5 ἐαυτῷ τὴν ἀρκτικήν.

Τὴν ἀρκτικήν, the recess to the north.

7.

‘Curious narrow gorge or cave to the S. of town (Anazarba): it contains several obliterated inscriptions, but only one, late Byzantine, is readable.’  
 Copy by Mr. Bent.

ΘΕΟΟΧΜΩ  
 ΝΚΑΤΑΦΥΓΗ  
 ΚΑΙΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ



Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν καταφυγὴ καὶ δύναμις.

Psalm xlv. 1 (LXX.).

8.

‘Stone built into city wall, Anazarba: the ends of the lines are all obliterated.’ Copy by Mr. Bent.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΘ  
 ΤΡΑΤΑΝΟΥΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΥΥΙ  
 ΘΕΟΥΝΕΡΟΥΑΥΙΩΝΩΝ  
 ΤΡΙΑΝΟΝΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ  
 5 ΒΑΣΤΟΝΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΜΕΓΙΣ  
 ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗΣΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ  
 ΓΙΚΟΣΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤ  
 ΤΟΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝΥΠΑΤ  
 ΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝΠΠΤΩΝ  
 10 ΓΕΤΗΝΤΗΣΟΙΚΟΥΜΙ  
 ΣΥΝΤΕΧΝΙΑΛΙΝΟΥΡΓΩ

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεοῦ  
 Τρα(ῖ)ανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱὸν,  
 θεοῦ Νερούα νίωνόν,  
 Τρ(α)ϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν [Σε-  
 5 βαστὸν, ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον,  
 δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσία[s τὸ  
 εἰκοστόν, αὐτοκράτορα  
 τὸ δεύτερον, ὑπατ[ον  
 τὸ τρίτον, π(ατέρα) π(ατρίδος), τὸν [εὐερ-  
 10 γέτην τῆς οἰκουμένης  
 συντεχνία λινουργῶ[ν.

Dedication to Hadrian in the year A.D. 136. Hadrian's third consulate was in 119; his twentieth tribunitian power in 136.

.9.

‘Small round stelè: Anazarba.’ Copy by Mr. Bent.

ΕΥΠΡΕ  
 ΠΗΚΑΙ  
 ΚΛΑΡΟΣ  
 ΜΝΗΜΗΣ  
 5 ΧΑΡΙΝ

Εὐπρεπῇ Κ(λ). (?) Κλᾶρος μνήμης χάριν.

10.

‘From stone sarcophagus: Anazarba.’ Copy by Mr. Bent.

ΚΑΙΜΕΤΕΜΕΟ  
 ΚΑΝΑΝΟΙΖΗ  
 ΤΗΝΣΟΡΟΝΔΩ  
 ΣΗΤΩΦΙΣΚΩΔΗΝΑ  
 5 ΡΙΑΔΙΣΧΕΙΛΙΑ

. . . . .  
 καὶ μετ’ ἐμὲ δ-  
 ς ἂν ἀνολέξῃ  
 τὴν σορὸν δώ-  
 ση (sic) τῷ φισκῷ δηνά-  
 5 ρια δισχέιλια.



## 11.

‘From a stone in wall : Anazarba.’ Copied by Mr. Bent.

ΔΡΟΥ . . . . ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ	Δροῦ[σον] Καίσαρα
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ . . . . ΣΤΟΥΥΙ	Τιβερίου [Σεβα]στοῦ νί-
ΟΝ . . . . . ΑΣΤΟΥΥΙ	όν, [θεοῦ Σεβ]αστοῦ νί-
ΩΝΟΝΕΛΕΝΟΣΙ ΑΣ	ωνόν, Ἐλενος Βασ[ι-
5 ΛΕΩΣΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ	5 λέως Φιλοπάτορος
Α(Π)ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ	ἀπελεύθερος.

Dedication in honour of Drusus junior, son of the Emperor Tiberius, by Helenus, a freedman of Philopator, King of Cilicia.

Drusus died in A.D. 23 (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 8—11). Philopator died in A.D. 17 (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 42), having (apparently) succeeded his father Tarcondimotus, who was killed at the battle of Actium, B.C. 31 (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 618). The very rare mention of these petty kings of Cilicia invests this inscription with considerable interest.

## 12.

‘Column of temple with dedication.’ Copy by Mr. Bent.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ

## INSCRIPTIONS FROM POMPEIOPOLIS.

## 13.

‘Found at Pompeiopolis; now in the churchyard of Greek church at Mersina.’ Copy by Mr. Bent. It has been printed by M. Kontoleon, *Mittheilungen des d. arch. Inst.* xii. p. 258.

ΛΕΥΚΙΩΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ  
 ΚΑΙΠΑΤΡΟΣΤΗΣΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ  
 ΥΙΩΙΘΕΟΥΥΙΩΝΟΙΝΕΩΝΗΓΕ  
 ΜΟΝΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΕΚΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝ  
 5 ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ  
 ΟΔΗΜΟΣ

Λευκίῳ Καίσαρι, Σεβαστοῦ  
 καὶ πατρὸς τῆς πατρίδος  
 υἱῷ, θεοῦ υἱὼν[ῶ]ι, νέων ἡγε-  
 μόνι, ἐνεργέτῃ ἐκ προγόνων,  
 5 Πομπηϊοπολιτῶν  
 ὁ δῆμος.

Dedication by the people of Pompeiopolis to Lucius Caesar, brother of Caius Caesar, son of Julia and Agrippa.

Lucius was born B.C. 17, and died August 20, A.D. 2. The title of *princeps juventutis* was apparently granted him by Augustus when, on January 1, A.D. 2, he assumed the toga virilis at the age of 14: see Mommsen, *Res gestae Divi Aug.* ch. xiv. pp. 52 foll. Our inscription therefore belongs to the first eight months of A.D. 2.

Another dedication from Pompeiopolis, in honour of Pompey, is published by M. Doublet, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* xii. p. 427, following the text of M. Kontoleon, *Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 258. Mr. Bent's MSS. certify that the copy is accurate with the exception of ΚΑΙΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑΣ omitted before ΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ.

#### INSCRIPTIONS FROM BOUDROUM (HIEROPOLIS-CASTABALA).

##### 14.

'Stone built into Yourouk's threshing-floor.' Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΟΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ  
ΔΕΙΝΩΝΑΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ  
ΑΝΔΡΑΑΓΑΘΟΝ  
ΓΕΓΕΝΗΜΕΝΟΝ

Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἱεροπολιτῶν  
Δείνωνα Ἀριστάρχου  
ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν  
γεγενημένον.

Letters of good time, perhaps first century B.C. This document and those which follow abundantly prove the site to be that of a city called Hieropolis. The further mention of θεὸς Περασία in Nos. 16 and 17 may justify us in identifying this Hieropolis with the Hieropolis-Castabala spoken of by Strabo (xii. 537): ἐν τοῖς Κασταβάλοις ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς Περασίας ἱερόν, ὅπου φασὶ τὰς ἱερείας γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶ δι' ἀνθρακιᾶς βαδίζειν ἀπαθείς· κἀνταῦθα δέ τινες τὴν αὐτὴν θρυλοῦσιν ἱστορίαν τὴν περὶ τοῦ Ορέστου καὶ τῆς Ταυροπόλου, Περασίαν κεκλήσθαι φάσκοντες διὰ τὸ πέραθεν κομισθῆναι. That Castabala and Hieropolis were names of the same Cilician town is well known to numismatists (Heal, *Hist. Num.* p. 603). All therefore might seem to be clear, and yet the site and identification of this town present difficulties which cannot even now be fully removed.

The fullest discussion of the question, up to the time of Mr. Bent's discoveries, is that by Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen von Hieropolis-Kastabala und über die geographische Lage der verschiedenen Kastabala* (in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, x. 1883, p. 267). His article has the merit of placing before the reader a complete digest of all the evidence available, whether ancient or modern. He begins by describing all the known coins of the city, which form a fairly continuous series from the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 175—164) to the Emperor Valerian (A.D. 253—260). He observes truly

that on the coins the town is commonly called Hieropolis-Castabala (ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝΚΑΣΤΑΒΑΛΕΩΝ) or Hieropolis *πρὸς τῷ Πυραμῷ*, whereas in ancient writers the local name Castabala is universal. The evidence of inscriptions was not of course forthcoming when he wrote his paper.

He next cites all the passages in ancient literature which mention the town. They are neither numerous nor very clear. The only passages which really concern us are from Strabo, Ptolemy, and Curtius. They are so important that I will repeat them here.

(a) Strabo, xii. 534—5 (after speaking of the ten *στρατηγίαι* or districts of Cappadocia): *προσεγένετο δ' ὕστερον παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίας τοῖς πρὸ Ἀρχελάου καὶ ἐνδεκάτῃ στρατηγίᾳ, ἥ περὶ Καστάβαλά τε καὶ Κύβιστρα μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ ληστοῦ Δέρβης, τῷ δὲ Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ ἡ τραχεία περὶ Ἐλαιούσσαν Κιλικία καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τὰ πειρατήρια συστησαμένη.*

(b) Strabo, xii. 537: *τὰ δὲ Τύανα ἐπικείται χώματι Σεμιράμιδος τετειχισμένῳ καλῶς. οὐ πολὺ δ' ἄπωθεν ταύτης (i.e. Tyana) ἐστὶ τὰ τε Καστάβαλα καὶ τὰ Κύβιστρα ὧν ἐν τοῖς Κασταβάλοις ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς Περσείας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν* (then follows the passage quoted above about the priestesses) *. . . . κομισθῆναι. ἐν μὲν δὲ τῇ Τυανίτιδι στρατηγίᾳ τῶν λεχθεῖσάν δέκα ἐστὶ πόλισμα τὰ Τύανα (τὰς δ' ἐπικτήτους οὐ συναριθμῶ ταύταις, τὰ Καστάβαλα καὶ τὰ Κύβιστρα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ τραχείᾳ Κιλικίᾳ), κ.τ.λ.*

(c) Ptolemy, v. 8, § 7: Castabala is named as an inland town, coming in the enumeration *after* Tarsus, Adana, Anazarba, and Mopsuestia, and *before* Nicopolis, Epiphaneia, and the Amanian gates.

(d) Curtius, iii. 17 (of the march of Alexander through Cilicia): *igitur edito spectaculo ludico castrisque motis et Pyramo amne ponte juncto, ad urbem Mallon pervenit: inde alteris castris ad oppidum Castabulum. Ibi Parmenio regi occurrit, quem praemiserat ad explorandum iter saltus, per quem ad urbem Isson nomine penetrandum erat . . . Isson deinde rex copias admovit.*

Lastly, after reciting the confused and confusing statements of modern geographers on the subject, Imhoof-Blumer proceeds to sum up. He finds no less than four different cities presented to us as bearing the name of Hieropolis-Castabala: and he very reasonably asks whether it is not possible to simplify the matter and to recognize two or more of these cities as the same.

In the first place he dismisses the Castabala or Castabolum of Curtius (d) from consideration, as being quite a different city and too far to the S.E. to be near the site we are seeking. This opinion is very questionable. The city discovered by Mr. Bent (Hieropolis) may possibly be the city which Alexander reached in a day's march from Mallus, having sent Parmenio thither beforehand to explore the passes which led over the Amanus down to Issus. He himself marched up the valley of the Pyramus to Castabala, ready to cross the mountain from thence and descend upon the plain.

Next, the way in which Ptolemy (c) speaks of Castabala entirely agrees with the site of Mr. Bent's Hieropolis.

The difficulty comes in with Strabo, who in both the passages cited (a, b)

speaks of Cybistra and Hieropolis as being neighbour towns, and says of both in (b) that they are near Tyana (*οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν*). Now Tyana has been generally identified with Hissar, and Cybistra with Eregli, which lies a little to the S.W. of Hissar, and slightly to the E. of the lake Ak Göl. In other words, unless we entirely upset the established geography of these regions, we must understand Strabo to place Hieropolis-Castabala west of the Taurus. As however the coins compel us to seek the site of Hieropolis-Castabala *πρὸς τῷ Πυραμῷ*, we may incline to the opinion that there were two cities of the same name, and that Strabo's account refers to the one on the W. of the Taurus, and that the coins belong to the one to the E. There were two cities of Comana, alike in name and in their peculiar worship, reputed to have been introduced by Orestes; one of these was in Pontus and the other in Cappadocia, and to Strabo we owe our information respecting both of them. There may equally well have been two cities of Castabala. Here however another difficulty arises. Strabo specially says (in b) that the Castabala near Tyana and Cybistra contained a peculiar worship of Artemis Perasia. It is a singular fact that two of Mr. Bent's inscriptions (Nos. 16 and 17) refer to *θεὸς Περασία*. It seems impossible to avoid the inference that the city of Hieropolis discovered by Mr. Bent is not only the Hieropolis-Castabala *πρὸς τῷ Πυραμῷ* which issued the coins, but also the Castabala referred to by Strabo. That is to say, Strabo appears in the same breath to place Castabala, with Tyana and Cybistra, west of the Taurus, and also to describe it in terms which identify it with the newly-discovered city east of the mountain.

I see no means at present of explaining this difficulty. One resource would be to accuse Strabo of some confusion. This is a violent hypothesis, and I entertain so profound a respect for Strabo's judgment and for his mastery of the geography of Asia Minor, that I am unwilling to adopt this explanation.

In default of any fresh discoveries which may relieve us of the difficulty and clear the reputation of Strabo, I prefer to suppose either that his expression *οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν* is capable of a wider interpretation, or that there were two cities of the name, and with the same characteristic worship, as in the case of Comana.

15.

'Stone from Yourouk's burial-ground.' Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent, who notes that the stone probably came from the theatre.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΟΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ  
 ΝΟΥΜΕΡΙΟΝΛΟΥΣΙΟΝΝΟΥΜΕ  
 ΡΙΟΥΥΙΟΝΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑΝΩΜΕΝΤ/  
 ΝΟΝΕΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΕΧΝΕΙΤΩΝΕΥΣΕ  
 5 ΒΗΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΟΝΠΡΟΣΤΗΝΑΘΗ  
 ΓΛΙΤΑΑΝΑΘΗΙΙΑΤΑ  
 [ΟΥΑΠΟΤΟ . ΗΜΟ . . . Ο]

Letters rather larger than in No. 14, and of somewhat similar type. The letters bracketed in line 7 are from Mr. Bent's copy: I cannot read them on the squeeze, which has failed in this part.

Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἱεροπολιτῶν  
 Νουμέριον Λούσιον Νουμέ-  
 ρίου υἱὸν Κορνηλία Νωμεντα-  
 νὸν, ἑπαρχὸν τεχνειτῶν, εὖσε-  
 5 βῆ καὶ φιλότειμον πρὸς τὴν Ἀθη-  
 νᾶν?] καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα . . . .  
 . . . . οὐ ἀπὸ το[ῦ δ]ήμο[υ . . . .

\*Ἐπαρχος τεχνειτῶν = *praefectus fabrum*, concerning whose office and status see Marquardt, *Röm. Alt.* v. p. 516.

## 16.

Statue-base 'dug up near the long colonnade.' Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent.

Μ·ΔΟΜΙΤΙΟΝΟΥΛΛΕΡΙΑΝ  
 ΠΡΕΣΒ·ΣΕΒ·ΑΝΤΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΙ  
 ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗ  
 ΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΗΒΟΥΛΗ  
 5 ΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΑΠΟΤΩΝ  
 ΤΗΣΘΕΟΥΠΕΡΑΣΙΑΣ  
 ΠΡΟΣΟΔΩΝ  
 ΔΙΑΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΩΝΤΩΝ  
 ΠΕΡΙΚ·Ι·ΦΟΥΛΟΥΙΟΝΟΠ  
 10 ΠΙΑΝΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΝ  
 Μ·ΑΥΡ·ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥ  
 ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥΚΡΙΣΠΣ  
 ΤΟΥΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΟΣ

Μ. Δομίτιον Οὐαλεριαν[όν,  
 πρεσβ(ευτήν) Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντιστρά(τηγον), τὸν  
 κτίστην καὶ εὐεργέτη[ν  
 τῆς πόλεως, ἡ βουλὴ  
 5 καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπὸ τῶν  
 τῆς θεοῦ Περασίας  
 προσόδων  
 διὰ πρυτάνεων τῶν  
 περὶ Κ. Ι. Φουλούϊον Ὀπ-  
 10 πιανὸν Ἰουλιανὸν  
 Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδου [τοῦ  
 Ἀσκληπιάδου Κρίσπο[υ  
 τοῦ ἱερομνήμονος.

Lines 10 foll.: Julianus is the son of M. Aur. Asclepiades, son of Asclepiades Crispus the hieromnemon.

The document is important for two reasons. First it gives the name of a new legate of Cilicia, M. Domitius Valerianus. A Valerianus is named by Liebenam (*Forschungen*, p. 180) as legate of Galatia 'about A.D. 197.' He may perhaps be the man.

Secondly, line 6 illustrates the statement of Strabo that at Hieropolis Castabala there was a worship of Artemis Perasia (xii. 537): *ἐν τοῖς Κασταβάλοις ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς Περασίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν, ὅπου φασὶ τὰς ἱερείας γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶ δι' ἀνθρακιᾶς βαδίζειν ἀπαθεῖς· κἀνταῦθα δέ τινες τὴν αὐτὴν θρυλοῦσιν ἱστορίαν τὴν περὶ τοῦ Ὁρέστου καὶ τῆς Ταυροπόλου, Περασίαν κεκλῆσθαι φάσκοντες διὰ τὸ πέραθεν κομισθῆναι.* Compare No. 14.

17.

'A small ornate column in Yourouk's burial-ground, of red and blue conglomerate.' Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent.

ΘΕΑΠΕΡΑΣΙΑ  
Π·ΛΕΣΣΙΟΣΡΟΥ Ο  
ΟΥΠΣ Α'

Θεᾶ Περασία  
Πο. Μέσσιος Ῥοῦ[φ]ο[ς] ?  
ὁ ὑπο . . . .

On the epithet *Περασία* see Nos. 14, 16.

18.

'Broken stone in threshing-floor: presumably from neighbouring theatre.' Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent. Incomplete at left edge only.

ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΤΟΝ  
ΙΔΙΚΟΣΤΟΥΚΤΙΣΤΟΥ  
ΟΥΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΥΙΟΥΚΑΙ  
ΙΟΝΑΥΤΟΥΤΕΙΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ  
5 ΣΚΑΤΑΠΑΙΔΟΠΟΙΙΑΝΔΕ  
ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΣΣΥΝΤΗΒΑΣΙ  
ΥΠΟΤΟ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΝ

Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἱεροπολιτῶν τὸν δεῖνα] Διογένους τὸν  
. . . . . δικος τοῦ κτίστου  
τῆς πόλεως . . . . . ]ον Καίσαρος υἱοῦ, καὶ  
τὸν δεῖνα . . . . . τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, τειμῆς χάριν  
5 Ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δέινος . . . . . ]ς, κατὰ παιδοποιῶν δὲ  
τοῦ δέινος . . . . . τοῦς] ἀνδριάντας σὺν τῇ βάσει,  
κατὰ τὴν γεγραμμένην] ὑπὸ το[ῦ] Διογένους διαθήκην.

The restorations are merely conjectural. and I can suggest nothing satisfactory in line 3. In line 5 we have a curious variation of the usual phrase *φύσει δὲ τοῦ δεινός*.

## 19.

‘Stelè in Yourouk’s burial-ground.’ Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent.

ΚΑΘΛΗΘΟΥΛΗΕΔΟΞ	Καθὰ τῇ βουλῇ ἔδοξεν.
ΝΕΩΝΑΚΙΝΕΤΑΥΡΟΥ	Νέωνα Κινεταύρου
ΤΟΝΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΑΡ	τὸν γενόμενον ἀρ-
ΧΙΕΡΕΑΤΩΝΣΕΒΑСТ	χιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν
5 ΚΑΙΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΝ	5 καὶ δημιουργὸν
ΕΥΓΕΝΕΙΑΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	Εὐγένεια Δημητρίου
ΤΟΝΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΑΥ	τὸν γενόμενον αὐ-
ΤΗΣΑΝΔΡΑ ΜΝΗΜΗC	τῆς ἀνδρα, μνήμης
ΧΑΡΙΝ	χάριν.

Line 2: the name *Κινέταυρος*, which is all but certain, is new.

Line 5: we are informed of the title of one of the magistrates, *δημιουργός*. The title occurs in an unpublished inscription copied by Professor Ramsay recently in Western Cilicia. Also at Perga (*C.I.G.* 4342, 4342<sup>3</sup>), Side (*ib.* 4347), near Termessus (*ib.* 4367g), and at Iotape (*ib.* 4411, 4413, 4415). It was therefore common in these regions.

## 20.

‘Circular piece of stone, apparently from theatre.’ Mr. Bent’s copy only: no squeeze taken.

. . . ΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΝΕΩΝΟΣΥΙΩΝ  
ΔΙΟΔΩΡ . . . .  
. . . . ρίου καὶ Νέωνος υἱῶν . . . Διοδωρ . . . .

## 21.

‘Circular stone; probably from theatre.’ Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent.

ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΔΕ	ΟΔΗΜΟΣ
ΟΦΙΛΟΥCΩ	ΚΡΟΝΙΔΗΝΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΥ
ΒΙΩCΑCΑΝ	ΑΝΔΡΑΑΓΑΘΟΝΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ
	ΤΕΙΜΗC ΧΑΡΙΝ
[‘Ο δῆμος]	‘Ο δῆμος
τὴν δεῖνα τοῦ δεινός] γυναῖκα δὲ	Κρονίδην Μηνοφίλου
Κρονίδου τοῦ Μην]οφίλου σω-	ἀνδρα ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον,
φρόνως καὶ κοσμίως] βιώσασαν.	τειμῆς χάριν.

## 22.

‘Small column or statue-base in Yourouk’s burial-ground.’ Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣ  
ΝΕΙΚΟΛΑΟΝ·Α·  
ΤΟΝΚΑΙΛΟΥΚΙ  
Α·ΝΟΝ

‘Ο δῆμος  
Νεικόλαον (Νεικολάου)  
τὸν καὶ Λουκι-  
ανόν.

Line 2: for Α in this sense see MM. Cousin and Diehl in *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* xiv. (1890), p. 105. Line 4: the superfluous dots are a blunder of the engraver.

## 23.

‘Stone dug up in one of the Christian Churches.’ Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent.

ΟΝΗΣΙΚΛΕΛΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ  
ΕΠΩΝΚΑΙΚΩΜΩΔΙΑΣΤΗΣΝΕΑΣ  
ΙΑΜΒΩΝΠΟΙΗΤΗΝΚΑΙΛΟΓΩΝ  
ΕΓΚΩΜΙΑΣΤΙΚΩΝΣΥΝΓΡΑΦΕΑ  
5 ΝΟΜΙΚΟΝΕΝΤΟΙΣΑΡΙΣΤΟΙΣ

ΟΙΦΙΛΟΙΤΟΝΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΝ  
ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΑ

‘Ονησικλέα Διοδώρου  
ἐπῶν καὶ κωμωδίας τῆς νέας  
ιαμβῶν ποιητὴν καὶ λόγων  
ἐγκωμιαστικῶν συγγραφέα,  
5 νομικὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις·

οἱ φίλοι τὸν προστάτην  
τειμῆς ἕνεκα.

Onesicles was a composer of epic verse, and of iambs in the manner of the New Comedy; he was also a writer of panegyrics, and an eminent lawyer (*νομικός* = *juris consultus*).

## 24.

‘Stone from the other Christian Church: in large letters.’ Mr. Bent’s copy only.

ΠΟΜΠΗΙΑΝ ΠΟΣ . . .  
ΗΡΩΟΝΤΕΚΝΟ . . .

Πομπηϊαν[ῆ?] Ποσ[ειδων . . . . τὸ  
ἡρώον τέκνο[ις . . . .



'On a stone from a site presumably the agora or stadium of the ancient town of Hieropolis : see plan of town.'  
Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent.

(α)

ΟΔΗΜΟΣ  
ΑΡΖΥΒΙΟΝΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ  
ΤΟΝΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΑ  
ΒΟΥΛΗΣΚΑΙΕΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΚΑΙ  
ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΝΤΗΣΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ  
ΑΝΔΡΑΓΑΘΟΝΓΕΝΟΥΣΙΕΡΑΤ ΚΟΥ  
ΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝΕΚΑ

(β)

ΟΔΗΜΟΣ  
ΗΡΘΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥΓΥΝΑΙ  
ΚΑΔΕΓΕΝΟΜΕΝ·ΝΑΡΖΥΒΙΟΥ  
ΤΟΥΛΟΥΚΙΟΥΚΟΣΜΙΩΣΚΑΙ  
ΣΩΦΡΟΝΩΣΣΖΩΣΑΝΦΙΛΑΝ  
ΔΡΟΝΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΤΕΚΝΟΝ  
ΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝΙΚΑ

(γ)

ΟΔΗΜΟΣ  
ΑΡΖΥΒΙΟΝΑΡΖΥΒΙΟΥ  
ΝΕΑΝΙΑΝΚΟΣΜΙΩΣ  
ΚΑΙΣΩΦΡΟΝΩΣΖΗ  
ΣΑΝΤΑΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝΕΚΑ

(α)

Ο δῆμος  
'Αρζύβιον Λουκίου,  
τὸν γενόμενον γραμματέα  
βουλῆς καὶ ἐκκλησίας καὶ  
γυμνασίου ἀρχον τῆς γερουσίας,  
ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν γένους ἱερατ[ι]κοῦ,  
τειμῆς ἕνεκα.

(β)

Ο δῆμος  
"Ἡρῶ 'Αθηναίου γυναι-  
κα δὲ γενομένη[ν] 'Αρζυβίου  
τοῦ Λουκίου κοσμίως καὶ  
σωφρόνως ζῶσαν, φίλαν-  
δρον καὶ φιλότεκνον,  
τειμῆς ἕνεκα.

(γ)

Ο δῆμος  
'Αρζύβιον 'Αρζυβίου  
νεάνταν κοσμίως  
καὶ σωφρόνως ζή-  
σαντα, τειμῆς ἕνεκα.

From the base of statues in honour of Arzybius and his wife Hero, and their son Arzybius. The son was dead, and perhaps the father also : the mother still lived (ζῶσαν, β). The form *ἐκκλησία* is not uncommon in late documents of Asia Minor (see *C.I.G.* 4028). Family pride, and not sacerdotal, is involved in the phrase *γένους ἱερατικοῦ* (in α); Arzybius came of a family which had frequently held priesthoods, and this was (under the Empire) a sign of hereditary wealth and dignity.

26.

Small round stelè.' Mr. Bent's copy only.

ΛΟΥΚΙΟΣ ΜΕΙΝΙΟΣ  
 ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟΣ  
 ΥΚΙΟΥ ΜΕΙΝΙΟΥ  
 ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥ  
 5 ΑΠΩΝΓΟΝΕ  
 ΜΝΗΜΕΧΑΡΙΝ

[τὸν δεῖνα]  
 Λούκιος Μείνιος  
 Κλαυδιανὸς  
 Λο]υκίου Μεινίου  
 5 Πρόκλου  
 . . . . .  
 μνήμης χάριν.

27.

'Stelè dug up near Yourouk's burial-ground.' Impression only made by Mr. Bent, which I have deciphered with much labour.

. . . CIVS · T · F · CL · DEXTER · AVGVS  
 VS · BELLICVS · SOLLERS · METILIVS ·  
 VS · RVTILIANVS · XVIR · STLIT  
 DIS · TRIB · MIL · LEG · III · AVG  
 5 AP · VII · VIR · EPVLON · SODALIS · . . .  
 OR · TRIB · PLEBIS · PRAETOR · FIDEI · CO  
 G · III · SCYTHICAE · LEG · AVG · PR · PR · PRO  
 CILICIAE

. . . cius T(iti) f(ilius), Cl(audia), Dexter Augus[tanus] Alpin[us] Bellicius Sollers Metilius . . . . . us Rutilianus, decemvir stlit[ibus judican]dis, trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) III Aug[ustae], . . . . . septemvir epulon(um), sodalis . . . , [quaest]or, trib(unus) plebis, praetor fidei co[m]- (missarius), [leg](atus) [le]g(ionis) IIII Scythicae, leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) pro[vinciae] Ciliciae.

A Rutilianus, legate of Cilicia, is known; see Liebenam, p. 416, who quotes from the *Cod. Just.* ix. 43, § 1: Rutiliano legato Ciliciae rescripts Antoninus Pius (*i.e.* between A.D. 138—161). Among his many names he has some in common with the polyonymous consul of A.D. 169, Q. Pompeius

Q. f. Senecio . . . Augustanus Alpinus Bellicius Sollers . . . Rutilianus . . . Sosius Priscus, from whom I have supplied [Alpin]us in line 2. They are, of course, different men. The first two letters of line 5 are very doubtful, and I therefore abstain from a conjectural restoration. It will be observed that here, and in No. 15 also, the priesthoods occupy their chronological place in the *cursus honorum*.

Immediately underneath the Latin inscription is the following, in late Greek characters:—

ΕΛΗΝΑΙΗΝΕΙΤΑΡΤΕΜΙΙ  
ΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΠΥΡΦΟΡΟΝ  
ΥΔΩΤΗΝΣΕΒΟΜΕΣΒΕΚ  
ΠΝΕΙΤΕΣΥΠΡΙΝΘΗΒΗΣΛΑ  
5 ΠΥΕΕΣΣΙΓΕΡΑΙΡΕΙΝΔΗΩΚΟΥ  
ΡΑΣΜΗΤΕΡΑΦΕΡΣΕΦΟΝΗΣΚΛΥ  
ΠΙΚΑΙΗΓΕΜΟΝΗΑΤΕΟΝΣΩΝΤΕ  
ΦΥΛΛΕΣΕΚΑΙΚΛΕΙΝΗΝΥΠΑΤΟΝ  
ΠΕΜΨΟΝΕΣΕΙΤΑΛΙΗΝΛΕΥΚΙΟΣΕΙΗΤΗ  
10 ΤΟΔΕΣΟΙΒΡΕΤΑΣΟΥΕΤΑΡΟΙΟΔΕΞ  
ΤΡΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΥΤΟΥΣΟΚΤΩΕΔΩΚΕ  
ΤΥΠΟΥΣ

Εἴτε Σ]εληναίην εἴτ' Ἀρτεμι[ν | εἴτε σ]έ, δαῖμον,  
πυρφόρον [ἐν τρι]|όδῳ Γῆν σεβόμεσθ' Ἐκ[άτην, |  
πνεῖ τέ συ, πρίν θ' ἤβης λα[μπροῖς] | θυέεσσι γεραίρειν  
Δῶν κου[ροτέ]|ρας μητέρα Φερσεφόνης,  
κλυ|θι, καὶ ἡγεμονῆα τεὸν σῶόν τε | φύλασσε  
καὶ κλεινὴν ὕπατον | πέμψον ἐς Εἰταλίην.  
Δεύκιος εἰλητή[ρ] | τόδε σοὶ βρέτας οὗ ἐτάριοιο  
Δέξ|τρου καὶ τούτους ὁκτῶ ἔδωκε | τύπους.

An invocation and dedication to Artemis (Euploia) by Leucius, a physician, who prays the goddess to give the governor a safe passage home to Italy. The governor for whom he prays appears to be the legatus of the foregoing Latin inscription: his name is given as Dexter (lines 10—11). If so, we may not identify Leucius with the famous physician of Tarsus, who lived not later than the first century A.D. See Smith's *Dict. of Biog.* s.v. Lucius. We may translate as follows: 'Whether we adore thee as Luna, or Diana, or whether, O goddess, as Earth-Hecate bearing thy torch at the cross-ways, O breathe thou, and ere men honour with the bright offerings of youth Deo the mother of young Proserpine, hearken and keep safe thy governor, and waft him home for his consulship to famous Italy. Lucius the physician gave thee this image of his comrade Dexter, and these eight sculptures.'

I take *βρέτας* to be a statue of the legate, and the *τύποι* to be masks or medallions sculptured on the base. The note of time in *πρὶν θ' ἡβης*, *κ.τ.λ.*, is so poetically given by the learned composer as to be obscure. I take it to mean 'before the time of the Eleusinian mysteries,' which took place in September, *i.e.* before the autumnal equinox, when storms were rife. The legate of Cilicia would quit his province on the last day of July (Marquardt, *Röm. Alt.* iv. p. 395).

28.

- Q ROSCIO SEX · F QVI COELIO · POI  
 EIOFALCONIDECENVIROSTLI  
 SIVDICANDIS · TRIB · MIL · LEG · X · F  
 VAESTORI · TRIB · PLEB · PR · INTER · CIV  
 5 PEREGRINOS · LEG · AVG · LEG · V · MACED  
 G · AVG · PR · PR · PROVIN · LYCIAEETPAM  
 YLIAELEG · AVG · LEG · X · FRET · ET · LEG · PR · PR ·  
 OVINCIAEIVDAEAECONSVLARIS  
 XV · VIRO · SACRIS · FACIVNDIS · CVRATOR  
 10 VIAE TRAIANAE · LEG · AVG · PR · PR · PROV  
 MOES · INF · ΠΟΜΠΕΙΟΝΦΑΛΚΟΝΑ  
 ΑΥΛΟΣΛΑΒΕΡΙΟΣΚΑΜΕΡΙΝΟΣΚΑΙ  
 · ΛΑΒΕΡΙΟΣ · ΚΑΜΕΡΙΝΟΣ · ΥΙΟΣ · ΑΥΤΟΥ ·  
 ΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΡΧΗΣ · ΛΕΓ · Ε · ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΚΗΣ ·  
 15 ΤΟΝ · ΙΔΙΟΝ · ΦΙΛΟΝΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ · ΕΚΤΟΥ  
 ΙΔΙΟΥ · ΤΕΙΜΗΣ · ΕΝΕΚΕΝ

Q. Roscio Sex(ti) f(ilio), Qui(rina), Coelio Po[mp]eio Falconi, decenviro stli[tibu]s iudicandis, trib(un)o mil(itum) leg(ionis) X F[ret](ensis), [q]uaestori, trib(un)o pleb(is), pr(aetori) inter civ[es et] peregrinos, leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) V Maced(onicae), [le]g(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provin(ciae) Lyciae et Pam[ph]yliae, leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis), et leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) [pr]ovinciae Iudaeae consularis, XV viro sacris faciundis, curator[i] viae Traianae, leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Moes(iae) inf(erioris).—Πομπείου Φάλκωνα Αὔλος Λαβέριος Καμερίνος καὶ Λαβέριος Καμερίνος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἑκατοντάρχης λεγ(εῶνος) ἔ Μακεδονικῆς, τὸν ἴδιον φίλον καὶ εὐεργέτην ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου τειμῆς ἐνεκεν.

Q. Roscius Sex. f. Pompeius Falco is well known; see Waddington, *Fastes*, p. 202; Liebenam, pp. 94, 243, 261, 279; Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia Provinciis Romanis* (Berlin, 1885), p. 39. Falco was legate of Lycia and Pamphylia, A.D. 105, 106; of Judaea, A.D. 107—110; of Maesia Inferior, A.D. 117; of Britain, A.D. 121?—124; and was proconsul of Asia about A.D. 128. His cursus honorum is very fully given in our inscription, and all in chronological order, including his priesthoods. As however the last preferment here recorded is the legation of Moesia Inferior, it follows that

the monument is not later than A.D. 120, and not earlier than 117. It is set up by A. Laberius Camerinus, who had served under Falco in the tenth legion when Falco was legate of Judaea. Camerinus had probably settled in Syria or Cilicia. In line 8 the word *CONSVLARIS* is quite certain, and is noteworthy. From the destruction of Jerusalem onwards Judaea remained a separate province, distinct from Syria, and in charge of a praetorian or sometimes a consular legate. Our inscription indicates that Falco, although not yet consul, was in charge of what was virtually a consular appointment.

Such an arrangement would indeed be exceptional, but yet not without parallel; see *Ephemeris Epigr.* v. p. 386, No. 696, where Mommsen remarks: 'Priscus cum quaestorius legioni cuidam Syriacae praesset, deficiente forte provinciae legato consulari *pro legato consulari* ipsam provinciam administravit.' It has been suggested by Rohden (*l. c.* p. 31) that the change from praetorian to consular legates for Judaea took place in consequence of the addition of a second legion (Legio VI Ferrata) to the province. Hitherto only the Legio X Fretensis was stationed there, and the legate of the legion was, by a well-known rule the legate of the province (see line 7). Our inscription does not mention Falco's consulate, nor is he called a consular. It is clear that he was a praetorian legate. But, if so, why is his province called 'consularis'? The question perhaps is connected with the sending of the Legio VI Ferrata to Judaea. The date and occasion of this addition to the forces in the province are alike unknown. Rohden (*l. c.*) suggests either the Jewish outbreak of A.D. 117, or the war of Hadrian, A.D. 131—133. But is it not conceivable that even earlier than either of these dates, and during the legation of Falco, the additional legion was sent to Judaea to meet some sudden emergency? If so, the province would become virtually 'consularis,' though in charge of a praetorian legate. I am aware that such a conjecture is highly hazardous. Yet it seems worth while to mention, in this connexion, that possibly Hege-sippus (fl. A.D. 150—190), who (as cited by Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 32) terms Atticus, the legate of A.D. 107, *ὑπατικός*, may not after all be guilty of a mere anachronism, as is commonly assumed, but may have had some historical justification for the phrase.

E. L. HICKS.

## THE COLLECTION OF ANCIENT MARBLES AT LEEDS.

## [PLATE XIII.]

THE collection of antiquities which forms the subject of this paper was presented in the year 1863—4 to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical Society by the Rev. John Gott, D.D., then Vicar of Leeds and now Dean of Worcester. He tells me that it came into his hands in the following way. Mr. Benjamin Gott, elder brother of the Dean's father, made a tour in Greece about the year 1815, in the company of an intimate friend, Mr. Rawson. They visited Smyrna, and returned through the islands to Athens, purchasing, in the course of their travels, a number of ancient marbles. Mr. Benjamin Gott died of fever at the Piræus, and was buried at Athens in the Theseium. Many years afterwards, when an English cemetery was opened at Athens, his body, with two others, was removed from the temple to this more fitting resting-place.

Upon Mr. B. Gott's death, the marbles passed into the possession of his fellow-traveller Mr. Rawson, in whose house at Halifax they remained for years. Here six of the inscriptions were copied and sent to Böckh for insertion in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* which he was then preparing.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Rawson died in 1845 or early in 1846. One of his executors was his brother, Mr. S. Rawson, by whom the marbles were sold to Mr. William Gott. From him they passed to his son, the Rev. Dr. Gott, who presented them (with a few exceptions to be presently mentioned) to the Museum at Leeds, where they now remain.

Mr. Rawson's collection at Halifax consisted partly of marbles which he and his fellow-traveller had acquired during their tour, and partly of later purchases—among the latter were certain antiquities of which his brother wrote (in a letter dated Halifax, 18th May, 1846): 'it was always understood that my brother had got them, as a great favour, from Westmacott, who had himself collected them in Italy.' These pieces from Italy comprised:—

<sup>1</sup> See *C.I.G.* 2265 ('Lapis, in Delo effossus, est nunc in oppido Halifax Britanniae in domo Rawsoni; misit Rosius ex schedis ab amico

missis'); 2284; 2312; 2323; *Add.* 864b; 937 b. The first volume of the *Corpus* appeared in 1843.

1. A statuette of a goat, in white marble.
2. A cinerary urn with an inscription :—

D · M ·
L · C L O D I O
P O L Y T I M O
P A T R O N O · O P T I M O
B · M · F P E R S I C U S
LIB

In the *C.I.L.* vi. 15764 there is described an ‘urna marmorea in hortis palatii Glienicke prope Potsdam,’ with an identical inscription, only omitting the last two lines. Is the Glienicke urn a forgery ?

3. A small sarcophagus, inscribed as follows (= *C.I.L.* vi. 12010) :—

M · A N T O N I · I V L L I
P A T R I S · L · R V F I O N I S

4. A similar sarcophagus, inscribed as follows :—

D VITELLIE ARTEMISIE · M
POSUIT · C SALLIVS FIR
MINVS CONIVGI B · M

These four marbles from Italy were retained by Dr. Gott when he presented the rest of the collection to the Leeds Museum : they are now at the Deanery, Worcester. Besides these, the Dean retains in his own possession the following antiquities which formed part of Mr. Rawson’s Greek collection :—

5. A marble head, inscribed ΘΕΟΦΡΑΚΤΟΣ : the head only is antique, the neck and shoulders (including therefore the inscription) are a restoration. Of this piece Mr. Rawson in the letter above quoted declares : ‘I do not at all know where purchased—I cannot find any account of it.’

6. A pair of Corinthian columns, exactly alike, about 12 feet high ; the capitals and bases are of white marble, the shafts being of a material which some call ‘green jasper,’ and which in a letter of Mr. Rawson’s is called ‘Verd antique.’ These columns (Mr. Rawson wrote) ‘were purchased at Smyrna from a Greek convent : the pāpās said they had come from Ephesus.’

The rest of the collection, which comprises some very interesting objects, was (as already stated) presented by Dr. Gott to the Museum at Leeds.

Here it has been very much forgotten. It escaped the notice of Prof. Michaelis, when he was preparing his work on the *Ancient Marbles in England* (1882): and though Prof. Marshall, of the Yorkshire College, published a tract in 1879 at Leeds, *Observations on certain Greek Inscriptions in the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, he omits two of the inscriptions, and of the rest he gives a not very accurate text and explanations merely general. The first person who called my attention to these marbles was the late Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln, whose interest in Greek studies never declined with his declining years.

My object in this paper is two-fold. First, I wish to give a trustworthy text of the inscriptions, and to bring them into connexion with the more recent additions to archaeological knowledge, especially through the French excavations at Delos. Secondly, I wish to give a descriptive catalogue of the whole of this little collection, so far as may suffice to make it known to archaeological scholars. And here I have been greatly helped by the kindness of Professor Conze of Berlin. In 1889 I had the pleasure of calling his attention to the funeral stelae at Leeds, with a view to the Vienna *Corpus* of sepulchral reliefs. In return, he has immensely added to the value of this paper by allowing me to embody in it the memoranda of his own examination of the Leeds Marbles, besides furnishing me with illustrations prepared under his own supervision. Professor Conze's notes are signed [C].

## I.

## MARBLE ALTAR.

Circular altar of white marble, ornamented all round with ox-heads, fillets and festoons. It has been completely but roughly hollowed out, and employed as a puteal or crown of a well: seven or eight deep grooves have been worn by the rope in the rim of the marble, which itself is worn smooth by long use. One side is now broken. Height, 1 ft. 7½ in.; original diameter, 1 ft. 10½ in. Apparently unpublished, except by Marshall, No. III.

ΟΙ ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΙ	Οἱ ἀγορανόμοι
ΚΑΛΛΑΙΣΧΡΟΣ	Κάλλαισχος
ΜΟΙΡΑΓΕΝΟΥ	Μοιραγένου,
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ	Διονύσιος
Δ	Δημέου,
ΔΗΜΕΟΥ	Δημέου,
ΣΩΧΑΡΜΟΣ	Σώχαρμος
ΣΩΧΑΡΜΟΥ	Σωχάρμου,
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΕΙ	Ἀφροδίτει
ΤΙΜΟΥΧΩΙ	τιμούχῳ.



Dedication by the board of agoranomi to Aphrodite Timuchos. The marble is certainly from Delos, where we know the ἀγορανόμοι were three in number: see the Delian building-contract at Oxford, *C.I.G.* 2266 *A* lines 28, 29, *B* lines 7, 8, more correctly restored by Fabricius, *Hermes*, 1882, p. 6 (compare Homolle, *Les Archives de l'intendance sacrée à Délos*, p. 118, who fixes its date as B.C. 297): 'Αγορανόμοι Γλαῦκος Σίλαν....., Εμμένης Τιμοθέμιδος, Φᾶνος Διοδότου. Also a somewhat later dedication 'Ερμεί καὶ 'Αφροδίτῃ by the ἀγορανόμοι of Delos, three in number, and their κληρωτὸς γραμματεὺς, *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* x. 1886, p. 33.

The date of our dedication, to judge by the lettering, is not earlier and not much later than 200 B.C. The use of ΕΙ for ΗΙ ('Αφροδίτῃ) was so common during three and a half centuries B.C. (Meisterhans, *Grammatik*, p. 30), and so many examples occur in the Delian documents, that this feature does not help us to fix the date. The worship of Aphrodite finds frequent mention at Delos: see Homolle, *Comptes des Hiéropes*, p. 43, lines 128, 131; p. 48, line 181 (in all of which passages the spelling is 'Αφροδίτῃ); compare p. 142: 'Aphrodite était une des plus antiques divinités déliennes; Thésée passait pour avoir apporté de Crète son image et fondé son temple.' The Aphrodision stood within the temenos of Apollo (see Reinach, *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.*, vii. 1883, p. 333 note).

Τιμοῦχος as an epithet of Aphrodite is new. Demeas is a Delian name (*ibid.* iv. 1880, p. 212; *Comptes des Hiéropes*, p. 28), and Σώχαρμος is found at Paros (*C.I.G.* 2399, 2408).

## 2.

## INSCRIBED WALL-STONE.

Wall-stone of white marble; height, 2 ft. 8½ in.; width, 2 ft. 3½ in.

The slab is in perfect preservation, excepting a slight injury of the surface at the upper right-hand corner. *C.I.G.* 2323, 'ex Delo fragmentum'; Marshall, No. V.

<i>A.</i>	<i>B.</i>
ΓΟΛΟΣΣΑΝ	ΤΟΥΣΕ/'' ΦΟΙΝΙΞΝ ΤΟΥΣΕΑΥΤΟ ΚΑΙΟΜΟΝΟ

Two dedications, perhaps independent of each other, but of similar date, are here inscribed upon the same wall-stone, which may have been part of a large base supporting statues. The first part of *A* is missing; it was engraved on another stone to the left. The right-hand portion of *B* occupied a wall-stone to the right. The date is indicated by Γολόσσαν in *A*, whom

we may identify with the well-known second son of Massinissa, who was his father's envoy at Rome B.C. 172 and 171 (Livy xlii. 23, 24: Legati Carthaginienses eo tempore Romae erant, et Gulussa filius Massinissae... interrogari Gulussam placuit, quid ad ea responderet etc.; *ibid.* xliii. 3). Upon the death of Massinissa, Gulussa received a share of his father's sovereignty (Appian, *Lilyca*, 106); he was a firm friend of Rome, and was present at the taking of Carthage B.C. 146 (Polyb. xxxix. 1, 2), but both he and his brother Mastanabal were cut off early by sickness, leaving Micipsa in sole possession of the throne (Sallust, *Jug.* 5). A son of his named Massiva is mentioned by Sallust (*ibid.* 35).

We know of three statues at Delos in honour of Massinissa the father (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* ii. p. 400, iii. 469, xi. p. 255); and in the accounts of the Delian *ιεροποιοί* mention is made of a crown sent to him from Delos (*Comptes des Hiéropes*, pp. 10, 11), and of gifts of corn sent by him (*ibid.* pp. 14, 15). We need not wonder that his son Gulussa should be honoured also at Delos, both he and the Delians being loyal retainers of Rome. We may restore somewhat thus:—

## A.

‘Ο δῆμος βασιλέα] Γολόσσαν  
[θεοῖς]

## B.

Τοὺς ε . . . . .  
Φοῖνιξ Ν . . . . .  
τοὺς εἰαυτο[ῦ] εὐεργέτας φιλίας  
καὶ ὁμονο[ίας] ἔνεκα.

## 3.

## INSCRIBED STATUE-BASE.

A solid rectangular statue-base of white marble; 2 ft. 6½ in. high; 1 ft. 11 in. wide; 1 ft. 7½ in. from front to back. (*C.I.G.* 2284; Marshall, No II.

ΑΜΥΝΤΑΝΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥΚΝΛΛΙΟ  
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΣΑΜΥΝΤΟΥΣΟΛΕΥ—  
ΞΥΕΡΓΕΣΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΥΤΟ  
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙ ΛΗΤΟΙ

*Lower down on the same face, in smaller letters:—*

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝΜΥΡΩΝΟΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣΕΠΟΙΕΙ

Ἀμύνταν Λυσιμάχου Κνίδιο[ν  
 Ἀφροδίσιος Ἀμύντου Σολεύ[ς  
 εὐεργεσίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦ[ν  
 Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρτέμιδι Λητοῖ.

Ἡφαιστίων Μύρωνος Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίει.

Dedication to Apollo, Artemis and Leto of a statue in honour of Amyntas of Cnidus.

The name Amyntas occurs on Cnidian amphora-handles (ἐπὶ Ἀμύντα), see Franz in *C.I.G.* iii. p. xiv. The style of the letters points to the first century B.C., and with this date all the other indications agree. In particular, the age of the artist Hephaestion is fixed with tolerable certainty. His signature appears on several other Delian statues: *C.I.G.* 2293 (a dedication to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis, Harpocrates); *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* iv. 1880, p. 220, p. 221; *ibid.* xi. 1887, p. 256; and others. A daughter of his, Διοδώραν Ἡφαιστίωνος Ἀθηναίου θυγατέρα, is named in another Delian dedication (*ibid.* vi. 1882, p. 321). All these are evidently of the Roman period, and probably belong to the first century B.C., before the Mithridatic War, B.C. 88: Homolle, *ibid.* viii. 1884, p. 136. This form of dedication (to Apollo, Artemis, Leto) is of frequent occurrence at Delos: compare *ibid.* p. 137; *C.I.G.* 2280, 2282, 2285, etc.

## 4.

## INSCRIBED STELÈ.

Stelè of white marble let into the wall of the Museum: entire at bottom and right-hand: broken at the top and on left. Height, 2 ft. 8 in.; width, 1 ft. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. *C.I.G.* 2265 (where the copyist has omitted line 5 besides other inaccuracies); Marshall, No. I.

ΑΙΛΕ  
 ΑΡΑΝΑΞΙΩΝΑΦΕ  
 ΔΙΚΑΣΜΕΝΟΙΕΙΣΙΝΟΙ  
 ΟΙΣΙΔΙΩΤΑΙΣΕΚΤΩΝ  
 5 ΠΗΑΔΙΚΗΜΑΤΩΝΤΑΙΣΠΟΛΕ  
 ΚΕΤΙΔΙΚΗΝΚΑΤΑΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΤΗΣ  
 ΙΣΠΑΡΙΩΝΜΗΔΥΠΟΤΗΣΝΑΞΙΩΝ  
 ΝΜΗΔΕΟΦΕΙΛΗΜΑΜΗΔΕΓΚΛΗΜ/  
 ΗΘΕΝΜΗΔΙΔΙΩΤΕΙΜΗΘΕΝΙΚΑΤΑ  
 10 ΩΤΟΥΕΓΚΛΗΜΑΜΗΘΕΝΕΚΤΩΝΠΡΟ  
 ΠΡΟΣΑΥΤΑΣΕΓΚΛΗΜΑΤΩΝΗΑ  
 ΨΕΝΤΟΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΩΝΔΙΚΑΣΤΗΡΙ  
 ΗΝΠΑΡΙΩΝΤΟΥΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΟΥΤΟΥ  
 ΓΡΑΦΗΤΗΝΔΕΟΥΣΙΑΝΤΩΙΔ:

- 15    ΙΟΥΣΤΟΔΕΓΕΡΑΣΤΟΥΒΟΟΣΕΙ,  
       ΟΠΟΤΕΡΑΔΑΝΤΛΗΝΤΟΛΕΛΗΝΗΔ  
       ΠΔΕΤΗΣΥΛΛΥΣΕΙΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΑΤΛΤΙ  
       ΜΕΝΠΟΛΙΣΠΑΡΑΒΗΙΤΑΛΑΝΤΑΕΙΚΟΣΙ  
       ΙΔΙΛΤΗΣΤΑΛΑΝΤΑΠΤΕΝΤΕΔΙΚΗΝ,  
 20    ΛΛΥΣΙΝΓΕΓΕΝΗΜΕΝΗΝΕΚΤΛΝΕΠΑ  
       ΜΠΤΗΣΑΠΙΟΝΤΟΣΤΟΥΙΠΠΙΛΝΟΣΜΙ  
       ΤΛΜΜΕΤΑΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥΛΣΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΙΣ  
       ΕΛΣΤΟΥΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥΦΙΛΟΚΡΙΤΟΥΤΟΥ  
       ΝΟΣΛΣΔΕΠΑΡΙΟΙΕΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΟΟΙ  
 25    ΟΣΠΑΛΥΝΤΗΡΙΛΝΟΣΤΟΥΣΔΕΠΡΟ  
       ΙΓΟΥΣΤΟΥΣΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΛΝΕΙΣΤΕΤΑΔ  
       ΟΙΣΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΤΗΝΔΕΤΗΝΣΥΛΛΥΣ  
       ΣΤΕΙΑΙΣΦΡΑΓΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΣΤΗΙΔ  
       ΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΕΙΉΚΟΟΥΣΕΚΑΤΕ  
 30    ΙΝΣΥΛΛΥΣΙΝ

The inscription belongs without doubt to about 200 B.C. Its subject is briefly described by Böckh: 'litigabant Parii et Naxii: res delata ad Eretrienses ut πόλιν ἔκκλητον, quorum hoc decretum est.' The court of Eretrian dikasts probably sat at Delos (see §§ 8-9), where the marble was found, a copy having been inscribed at Delos as an inviolable and neutral city. Representatives of the two contending cities were also present, ἐπήκοοι (lines 29, 2: see Hesych. s.v. ἐπάκοοι οἱ μάρτυρες. καὶ οἱ ἐπισκοποῦντες τὰς δικαστικὰς ψήφους, and compare *ib.* s.v. ἐπήκοοι).<sup>1</sup> Whatever may have been the subject of the complaints, Paros appears to have been the aggrieved party, and to have proved her case against Naxos, the Naxians being condemned in a fine payable to Paros (see § 7): the Parians are to expend some portion of this sum in sacrificing an ox to the Naxian god. The earlier paragraphs of the settlement (σύλλυσις) are lost: what remains may be restored as follows.

§ 1. *The settlement is now finally made* (lines 1-4):—

. . . . . καθάπερ τοῖς Ἐρετρίων δικασταῖς ἔδο-  
 ξεν καὶ τοῖς ἐπηκόοις τοῖς παρὰ Παρίων καὶ παρὰ Ναξίων ἀφε-  
 σταλμένοις περὶ ὧν πρὸς τοὺς Ναξίους δ]εδικασμένοι εἰσὶν οἱ  
 Παρίοι.]

§ 2. *All further action between individuals barred, in respect of anything that arises out of the disputes now settled between the two cities* (lines 4-6):—

<sup>1</sup> The term ἐπάκοος is found in a similar sense in Laconia: Roberts, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, p. 267.

- μηδεμίαν εἶναι μηκέτι δίκην τ]οῖς ιδιώταις ἐκ τῶν  
 5 πρότερον γεγενημένων ἐγκλημάτων] ἢ ἀδικημάτων ταῖς πόλε-  
 σιν']

§ 3. *All action barred as against Nauros by Paros* (lines 6-7) :—

μηδεμίαν δὲ εἶναι μη]κέτι δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τῆς  
 Ναξίων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τ]ῆς Παρίων·

§ 4. *All action barred as against Paros by Nauros* (lines 7-8) :—

μηδ' ὑπὸ τῆς Ναξίων  
 πόλεως κατὰ τῆς Παρίων]

§ 5. *No claim of individuals against either city allowed* (lines 8-10) :—

- μηδὲ ὀφείλημα μηδ' ἐγκλημα  
 μηδὲ ἀδίκημα εἶναι μ]ηθὲν μηδ' ιδιώτει μηθενὶ κατὰ  
 10 τῶν πόλεων']

§ 6. *No claim against any individual by either city* (lines 10-12) :—

μηδὲ κατ' ιδι]ώτου ἐγκλημα μηθὲν ἐκ τῶν προ-  
 τερον γεγενημένων αὐτῶ] πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐγκλημάτων ἢ ἀ[δι-  
 κημάτων']

§ 7. *The court recommends the Parians to sacrifice an ox to Dionysos the god of Nauros* (lines 12-16) :—

- ἔτι δὲ ἐκέλε]υσεν τὸ Ἑρετριέων δικαστήρι[ον  
 θῦσαι βοῦν τὴν πόλιν τ]ῇν Παρίων τοῦ ἐπιτιμίου τοῦ ἐ[πι-  
 γεγραμμένου ἐν τῇδε τῇ] γραφῇ, τὴν δὲ θυσίαν τῷ Δι[ο-  
 15 νύσῳ τῷ Ναξίῳ ἄγειν Παρ]ίους, τὸ δὲ γέρας τοῦ βοῦς εἶ[ναι  
 . . . . .

§ 8. *Penalties for the breach of this settlement on the part of city or individual* (lines 16-17) :—

ὅποτέρα δ' ἂν τῶν πόλεων ἢ ιδ[ιώ-  
 της ἐναντίον τι ποιῇ τῇ] [ιδε τῇ συλλύσει ἀποτεισάτω τί-  
 μημα τῷ θεῷ τῷ Δηλίῳ· ἐὰν] μὲν πόλις παραβῇ, τάλαντα εἴκοσι  
 ἀποτινέσθω δίκη, ἐὰν δὲ] ιδιώτης τάλαντα πέντε δίκη·

§ 9. *The date of the settlement in Eretrian, Naesian, and Parian reckoning* (lines 19-25) :—

- ἔν[α  
 20 κυρίαν ἔχουσιν τήνδε τὴν σύλ]λυσιν γεγενημένην ἐκ τῶν ἐπα-  
 κτῶν εἰς Δήλον δικαστῶν ἀπὸ πέ]μπτης ἀπιόντος τοῦ Ἰππιῶνος μ(η)-  
 νὸς ἐπὶ τῶν . . . ἀρχόντων] τῶμ μετὰ Ἀρχεβίου ὡς Ἑρετριεῖς

ἄγουσιν, ὡς δὲ Νάξιοι ἐπὶ ἱερ]έως τοῦ Διονύσου Φιλοκρίτου τοῦ  
 δέινος τῆς δέινος τοῦ δέινος μην]νός, ὡς δὲ Πάριοι ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Θου.  
 25 . . . τοῦ δέινος τῆς δέινος μην]νός Πλυντηριῶνος.

§ 10. *The Eretrians to keep an official copy of this settlement, and to forward sealed copies to the cities concerned* (lines 25-29):—

τοὺς δὲ προ-

στάτας (?) καὶ τοὺς στρατη]γούς τοὺς Ἐρετρίων εἰς τε τὰ δη-  
 μόσια γράμματα παρ' ἑαυτ]οῖς ἀναγράψαι τήνδε τὴν σύλλυσ-  
 σιν, καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτὴν ἀπο]στεῖλ[α]ι σφραγισμένους τῇ δη-  
 μοσίᾳ σφραγίδι.]

§ 11. *The representatives from Paros and Naxos are to convey to their respective cities the copy of this settlement* (lines 29-*fin.*):—

κομίσ]αι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπηκόους ἑκατέ-

30 ρων τῶν πόλεων τήνδε τ](ή)ν σύλλυσιν.

What remains of the marble is in good condition, and I have made out much that was previously misread or omitted. The letters given in the uncial text are certain. My restorations are true to the sense, if not always to the wording of the original; only the restoration of § 1 is merely conjectural.

A few details call for remark. Line 9: *ιδιώτει*, like *Ἀφροδίτει* in No. 1, is a spelling common enough between 400 and 50 B.C. Line 14: Dionysos was the patron-god of Naxos; his symbols (the cantharos, ivy-leaves, etc.) appear upon the Naxian coins (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 416), and the eponymus of the city was the priest of Dionysos (line 23: [ἐπὶ ἱερ]έως τοῦ Διονύσου, and similarly in a later dedication published *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* ii. 1878, p. 587: ἐπὶ εἰερέως τοῦ Διονύσου κ.τ.λ.). Line 15: ΓΕΡΑΣ is quite certain: τὸ γέρας is the priest's portion (see vol. ix. of this *Journal*, 1888, p. 329), which was specified in the last commencement of line 16. Line 18: I attach little weight to the restoration I have suggested. Line 20: I borrow ἐπα[κτῶν δικαστῶν] from Böckh. Line 21: hardly anything is known of the Eretrian calendar (Bischoff, *Leipz. Studien*, vii. p. 402). Line 22: Böckh suggests ἐπὶ πρυτάνεων *verbi gratia*; but in a list of names from Eretria published in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολ.*, περ. 3, 1887, pp. 79 foll. we find [Ἐπὶ] Ἀρέτωνος ἄρχοντ[ο]ς. I therefore restore ἀρχόντων, but still doubtfully, as it hardly fills the space. Line 24: the remains of Υ can be traced at the end of the line, and the name is perhaps the same which is written ΘΟΥΡΙ . . . on a coin of Paros quoted by Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 418. Line 25: the recovery of the name Πλυντηριῶνος, misread by Böckh's transcriber, adds one more to our scanty list of Parian months (Bischoff, *l.c.* p. 394). Line 28: it was usual for a public award or agreement to be communicated to the cities concerned by means of a sealed copy. Thus the Milesian award between the Lacedaemonians and Messenians (my *Manual*, No. 200, line 36: τήγ

κρίσιν . . . ἐδώκαμεν τοῖς πρεσβευ[τ]αῖς, ὅπως διακομίσωσιν αὐτὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐσφραγισμέ[νην] τῇ [δημ]οσίᾳ σφραγίδι. So in the directions given by King Antigonos respecting the amalgamation of Lebedos and Teos (*Manual*, No. 149 § 8), a sealed copy of the laws of Cos is to be procured: τοὺς δὲ ἀποσταλέντας ἐ[π]α[ναφέρειν τοὺς νό]μους ἐσφραγισμένους τῇ Κώων σφραγίδι. Compare also *C.I.G.* 2152 *b*, *Add.* line 15; 2332 *fin.*; 2347 *c*, *fin.*; 2557 *A*, line 5; 3053 *B*; 3137 *ii. fin.*

The reader who wishes to study the interesting class of documents to which our inscription belongs—those relating to the settlement of disputes between cities by the intervention of an ἑκκλητος πόλις and the employment of alien dikasts—is referred to the careful essay of E. Sonne, *De arbitris ceteris, quos Græci adhibuerunt ad lites et intestinas et peregrinas componendas quaestiones epigraphicæ* (Gottingen, 1888); see especially pp. 12, 49. It is useless to conjecture what was the occasion of the quarrel between Naxos and Paros: I have fancied it may have been a dispute about the rights of fishing in the neighbouring seas. We have to confess ourselves deplorably ignorant of the history of most of the Greek cities and islands. Whatever the cause, the misunderstanding appears to have been temporary only: the heavy fines threatened in case of any breach of the settlement, and the care taken to shut the door against all further litigation, indicate a fixed resolve to put an end to the strife. Indeed two islands so near as these could not afford to disagree. I cannot forbear quoting the picturesque words of E. Curtius in *Naxos, ein Vortrag*, pp. 6—7 (Berlin, 1846) concerning ‘die schönste Gruppe’ of the Cyclades, ‘those twin isles of Naxos and Paros, so nearly united in one, that they have been grouped together under a single name as Paronaxia. As the stately, slender outlines of Paros appear in view, they seem to betoken from afar the precious treasures of her hills. A world of temples and of sculptures have issued forth from her bosom, and to this day her subterranean quarries glisten in the torch-light like the halls and corridors of a fairy palace. Paros is also provided with springs and spacious harbours. But in size and in strength she yields to her neighbour Naxos. Rounded off on all sides, with no deep inlets or bays, Naxos rises in massive bulk from the sea, and lifts her broad summit proudly above the other Cyclades.’ After a glowing sketch of the fertility of Naxos, its cornfields, orchards, gardens and vineyards, he adds: ‘An island so prominent in size, in strength and fertility, could not fail to achieve a position of historical precedence among the neighbouring islands; in fact, we find that whenever the Cyclades were free to develop their own destinies, uncontrolled by alien influence, Naxos takes her place as the leader and queen of the group.’

## 5.

## SEPULCHRAL STELÈ.

Sepulchral stelè of white marble: height, 0, 78 m. or 2 ft. 5 in.; width below, above the plinth. 0, 40 m. or 1 ft. 2½ in.; above, below the pediment, 0, 34 m. or 1 ft. 1 in. In good preservation on the whole, but in many

parts much worn, especially the inscription, which some modern hand has endeavoured to trace with red colour, thereby making it the less legible.

The stelè was let into a base by means of a plug. It is surmounted by a plain pediment with an *akroterion*. The main surface of the stelè is bordered on either side by a column, and the two columns support a circular arch. Within the space thus enclosed is a group worked in rather high relief, comprising three figures. On the left a male figure is seated on a rock facing to right: he extends his right hand to another male figure in full face, who stands in front of him. Both are wearing chiton and himation. Behind the standing figure stands a female figure, also wearing an upper and under garment, facing to left. Underneath the relief a portion of the field is left intact, to receive the inscription [C.].

Published by Böckh, *C.I.G. Addenda*, 864; Kumanudes, No. 1942; *C.I.A.* iii. 2550 (both after Böckh).

ΑΓΡΩΝ	ΑΓΡΩΝ
ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΥ	ΑΓΡΩΝΟΣ
ΧΡΗΣΤΕ	ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΥ
ΧΑΙΡΕ	ΧΡΗΣΤΕ
	ΧΑΙΡΕ
Ἀγρων	Ἀγρων
Λαοδικεῦ	Ἀγρωνος
χρηστὲ	Λαοδικεῦ
χαῖρε.	χρηστὲ
	χαῖρε.

All the letters can be clearly made out, except perhaps the last two of line 2. ΑΓΡΩΝ is quite certain. Böckh's copy read ΑΤΡΩΝ, which Kumanudes questions, and Dittenberger (*C.I.A.* l.c.) alters to [Π]άτρων, wrongly. The lettering points to about B.C. 100.

The 'friend' who sent a copy of this stelè from England to Böckh informed him that it came from Athens, and so the editors have described it. There is however little or no doubt that it is from Delos, or rather Rheneia. Among all the hundreds of tombstones of Athenian metoeks in Kumanudes' Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐπιτύμβιοι and in the *C.I.A.* there is hardly a single one of good date which exhibits the salutation χρηστὲ (χρηστῇ) χαῖρε.<sup>1</sup> Even χαῖρε alone is comparatively rare at Athens. On the other hand the vocative of the name, followed by χρηστὲ χαῖρε, is the usual formula of epitaphs from Rheneia; see Le Bas, *Voyage Arch.* pt. iv. 1926 foll., and especially 1952, 1953 (Λαοδικεῦ, Λαοδικισσα). Professor Conze reminds me that the style of the relief and the general shape and character of the monument point likewise to Rheneia.

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks of E. Loeb on this point, *De titulis Graecis sepulcralibus*, p. 35 (Konigsberg, 1890); and my paper 'On the Characters

of Theophrastus' in the *Hellenic Journal*, iii. (1882) p. 143.



## 6.

## MARBLE ALTAR.

Circular marble altar, 2 ft. 11 in. high; diameter, 2 ft. 2½ in. Its upper surface is hollowed out to a depth of 8 in., and the circumference is adorned with ox-heads, fillets and festoons of fruit and corn, on which birds are alighting and pecking. *C.I.G.* 2312 ('Ara Deli effossa').

ΕΥΜΕ ΝΥΔΤΟΥ  
ΘΕΟΞΕΝΟΥ

Εὐμέ[ν]ους τοῦ  
Θεοξένου.

Similar altars, evidently of a monumental kind, are given by Böckh, *C.I.G.* 2310, 2311. In the *lemma* of 2310 he cites the remark of Tournefort, that altars of this character are of common occurrence in Delos. He adds: 'Aras has esse sepulcrales clare docet n. 2311. Sed quum in Delo neminem sepeliri fas fuerit, patet memoriae causa defunctis has aras dicatas esse non in loco, ubi corpus humatum erat. Noli vero arbitrari aram in monumentum sepulcrale versam esse; hoc enim nefas fuit, nec titulus est tam recens, ut antiquiori arae possit posthac insculptus videri.' This altar probably comes from Rheneia. The lettering points to the first century B.C. Sepulchral altars, of exactly the same style, are found elsewhere, *e.g.* in Cos (*C.I.G.* 2516), and frequently in Rhodes (*C.I.G.* 2531—2551), where one is described as being hollowed out at the top like the one before us (*ibid.* 2543, 'ara superne mortarii in formam excavata').

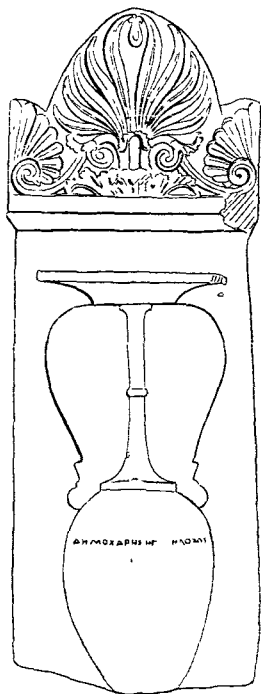
Theoxenos is a Delian name: *C.I.G.* 2266 A, line 30; Homolle, *Comptes des Hiéropes*, pp. 33, 36; *Les Archives de l'intendance sacrée*, p. 121.

## 7.

## SEPULCHRAL STELÈ.

Stelè of white marble. Present height, 1, 08 m. or 3 ft. 7 in.; width below, 0, 40 m. or 1 ft. 4 in.; width above, under the *akroterion*, 0, 38 m. or 1 ft. 3 in. Broken at the foot, but otherwise in excellent preservation; the painting however, which once adorned it, has vanished without leaving a trace behind. The marble stands in a very bad light. The accompanying sketch is from a photograph kindly forwarded by the Curator of the Leeds Museum, Mr. Edgar R. Waite. The stelè is surmounted by an elaborate *akroterion* of three palmettes. The fascia and cymatium immediately beneath it are plain; clearly they were meant to be painted. On the front of the

stelè, which is without any raised margin at the sides, is seen an amphora in low relief, and of very flat and plain appearance. But it is evident that the details of the amphora were originally filled in by painting—in particular the handles, and a group of at least two figures on the body of the vase. This group, of which not a trace survives, is sufficiently attested by the names which were engraved in a single line above it. The group evidently consisted of a male figure, seated, facing to right (Demochares), and another male figure standing before him to the right, facing to left (Hegelochus), and perhaps taking Demochares by the hand. The head of the standing figure



interrupted the letters of his name Heg—elochus). The painting must therefore have been completed, or at least sketched in, before the inscription was engraved. For the disposition of writing and representation compare *e.g.* the stelè of Xeno-timos and Xenophilos (Sybel, 238) figured in Le Bas-Reinach, *Voyage Arch. Mon. Fig.* Pl. 85, i, or that of Kydrokles and his son (Sybel 227) figured *l.c.* Pl. 80. The stelè and its decoration are distinctively Attic and belong to the fourth century B.C. The inscription has been published by Böckh, *C.I.G.* 937 *b*; Kumanudes (after Böckh), 2760; Marshall, No. IV. [C.].

ΔΗΜΟΧΑΡΗΣ ΗΓΕΛΟΧΟΣ

Δημοχάρης Ἡγήλοχος.

The mistaken orthography 'Ηγήλοχος is not without parallel, though at a somewhat earlier date (see Köhler, *Mittheilungen des arch. Inst. in Athen*, x. 1885, pp. 363 foll.). This marble is interesting both as a fine example of this class of Attic sepulchral reliefs (it rather resembles the stelè published *ibid.* xii. 1887, Taf. ix.), and also as having been originally painted. For painted stelæ see *ibid.* x. 1885, Taf. xiii.; iv. 1879, Taf. i.—ii.; v. 1880, Taf. vi.; and *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* viii. 1884, p. 459, Pl. xiv.

## 8.

## SEPULCHRAL STELÈ (Plate XIII.).

Stelè of white marble : existing height 0, 87 m. or 2 ft. 11 in. ; greatest width 0, 31 or 1 ft., narrowing upwards about 0, 01. The upper part of the akroterion is broken, and the whole of the surface has undergone defacement by the weather, until the details of the ornamentation can no longer be recovered. The original marble is let into the wall in a dark corner of the Museum. By permission of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society a cast of the stelè was made and forwarded to Berlin, through the kind help of Mr. Waite, the Curator. From this cast was taken the accompanying plate.

The stelè was let into a base by means of a plug, which yet remains : the name of the deceased may possibly have been inscribed upon the base, now lost. Of the ornamentation of the *akroterion* all that can now be recognised are the general outlines of a volute and some faint traces of its detail. The whole surface of the stelè is occupied by a sculptured relief. On either side is a narrow border, and a somewhat broader band below. In relief upon a slightly-sunk background appears a female figure, standing to right, the left foot being advanced. She is draped in a long chiton with a diploidon ; on the back of her head some kind of veil or other garment seems visible. Whether the right hand grasped this garment, or was merely raised by way of gesture, it is difficult to decide. With her left hand she gathers up the diploidon into a fold upon her bosom.

So far as the forms of the sculpture can be traced, they point to a work not perhaps of Attic origin, but of the fifth century B.C., somewhat after the style of the Bologna stelè (*Antike Denkmäler des Institutes*, i. Taf. 33, i.). [C.]

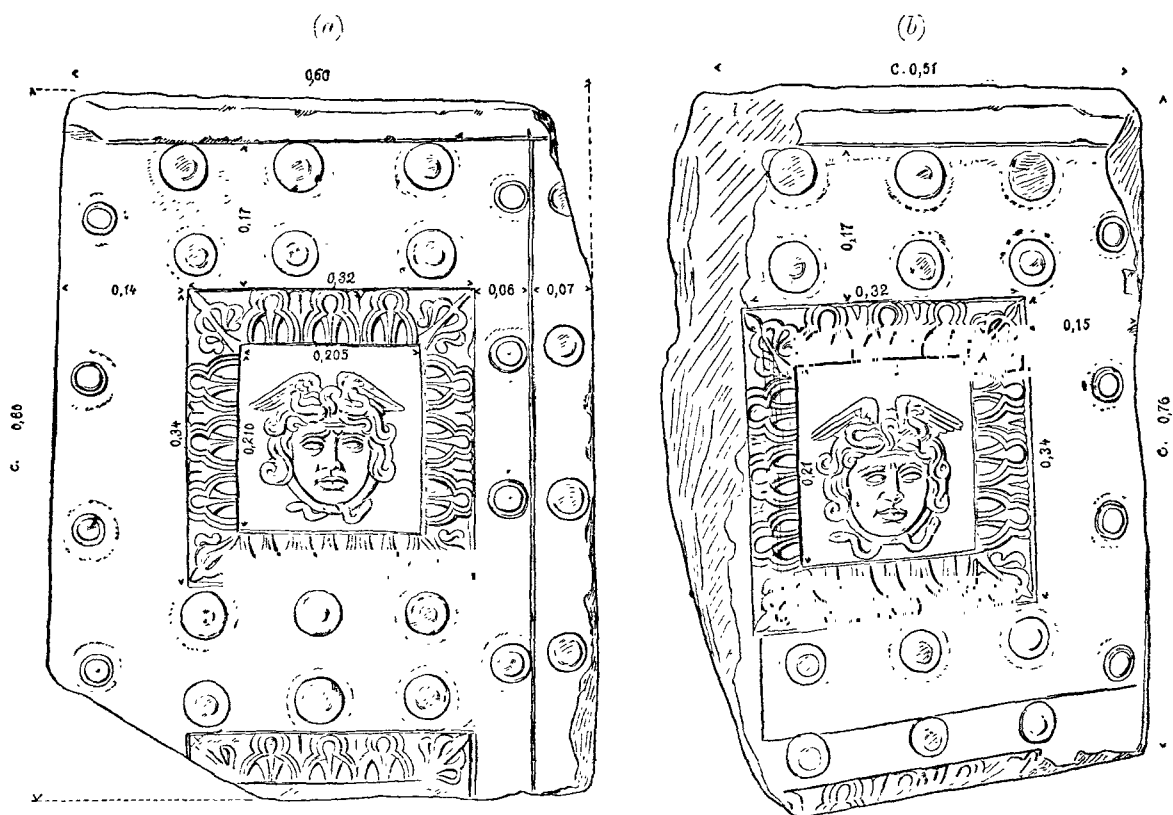
## 9.

## TWO MARBLE DOORS.

Two sculptured blocks of white marble : one (*a*) about 0, 80 m. or 2 ft. 8 in. high in its present condition, the other (*b*) 0, 76 or 2 ft. 5 in. high and 0, 51 or 1 ft. 8 in. wide in its present condition ; thickness from 0, 21 to 0, 15 or 5 in. to 7 in. The surface of the back, so far as could be observed, is

undressed. Both marbles are apparently injured somewhat at their upper edge, and certainly so below: *b* has also its left edge injured. The accompanying illustration is from photographs forwarded to Berlin through the kindness of Mr. Edgar R. Waite. It will be noticed that *b* had to be photographed in a somewhat foreshortened view.

We recognize here representations in marble of the upper portion of two leaves of a folding entrance door, including all details—the bronze nails, and the gorgoneion as the emblema on the panel. *a* belongs to the left door, for



on its right edge is seen the central fillet which overlapped the meeting of the doors. We are at once reminded of the marble representation of a door in the tomb of Amyntas at Telmessos (Texier, *Asie Mineure*, iii. Pl. 169; Benndorf und Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien und Karien*, Taf. xvii.). There is little doubt that these Leeds marbles also came from a tomb of similar character, and belong to the Hellenistic period. The gorgoneion as the ornament of a door panel is common enough (Bötticher, *Techtonik*,<sup>2</sup> ii. pp. 508 ff.). [C.]

10.

IONIC CAPITAL.

An Ionic capital of white marble; measuring in width, from the outer circumference of volute to volute, about 0, 77 or 2 ft. 6 in.; from front to back, about 0, 50 or 2 ft. 1 in.

Coarse in execution, of Hellenistic time [C.]

11.

HEAD OF MEDUSA.

A head of white marble: height of the face, about 0, 13. By supplying a modern neck, this head has been converted into a bust; the nose, the mouth and right cheek are also restorations. The head shows further marks of injury on the left side.

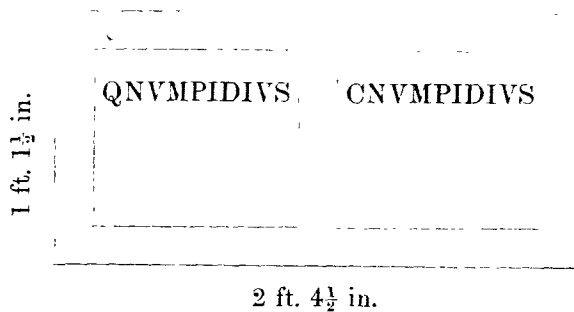
There can be no doubt as to the identification. The eyes are fast closed and the hair, though it has neither snakes nor wings, falls snake-like over the face. A hand clutches the head by the hair. In this head and hand we may recognise the remains of a statue of Perseus holding the head of Medusa; compare the group in the *Friedrichs-Wolters Berliner Gipsabgüsse*, No. 1559.

It is a work of the Roman period [C.]

12.

LATIN INSCRIPTION.

Two plain panels cut on one slab of marble, evidently from a tomb; in excellent preservation. *C.I.L.* vi, 23160a ('originis fortasse urbanae'), from a not quite accurate copy.



E. L. HICKS.

## THE EGYPTIAN BASES OF GREEK HISTORY.

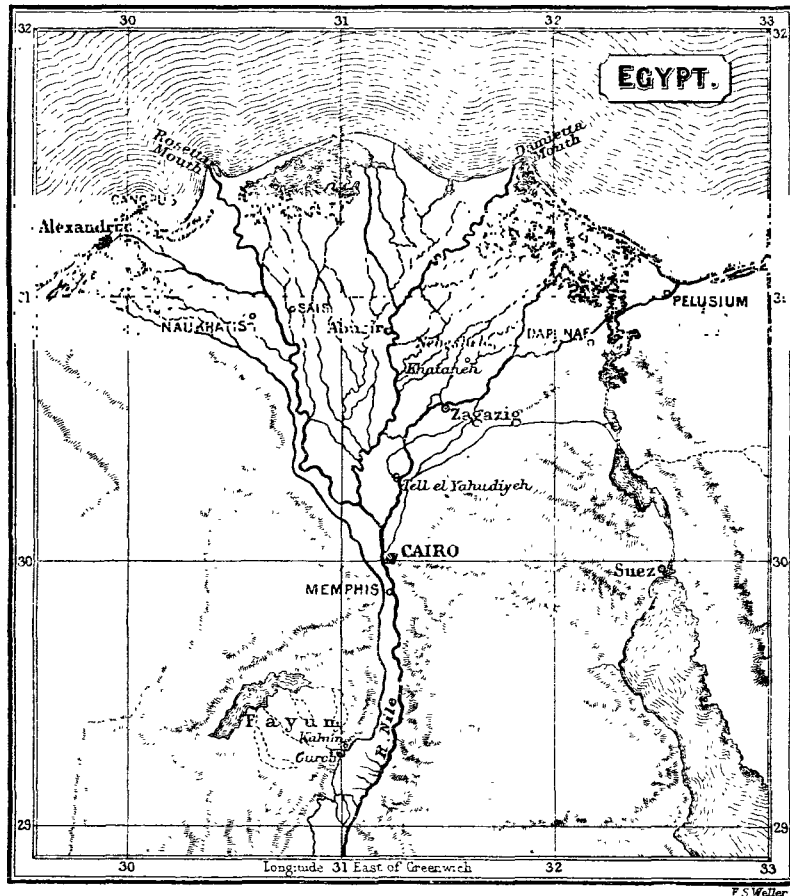
[PLATE XIV.]

SEVEN years ago nothing was known in Egypt which could be attributed to a Greek origin before the Alexandrine times; the early notices on the monuments, which seemed to refer to the peoples of the Mediterranean, stood alone, and their relation to what was known on Greek soil appeared vague and unreal. But now the main light on the chronology of the civilizations of the Aegean comes from Egypt; and it is Egyptian sources that must be thanked by classical scholars for revealing the real standing of the antiquities of Greece. Without the foreign colonies on the Nile, they would still be groping in speechless remains, which might cover either a century or a thousand years, for aught that could be determined in Greek excavations. Egypt has done for the pre-historic ages the same great office of conservator which she has performed for the historic period. To Egypt we are indebted for the manuscripts, the paintings, and the textiles of the Greek and Roman times; from Egypt have just come the fragments of Plato and Euripides which show the original text, and the letters and private papers which tell of the daily life of the Greeks dwelling there.

I propose here to sketch briefly the main results which have been attained by the recent excavations, in their bearing on the history of the Aegean peoples. The first step was the discovery of Naukratis, a site which I found teeming with fragments of Greek vases of the archaic and later periods. The main prosperity of the town was about 550 B.C.; and the temple sites of Aphrodite yielded a great variety of vases as early as that, while the temenos of Apollo contained many which were made before 600 B.C. Here we learned the source of the Naukratite style, which was already known elsewhere, but not yet identified with any place. The source of the numerous mock-Egyptian scarabs and amulets so commonly found at Rhodes was also found here—even the very factory was discovered with the moulds with similar scarabs lying about: and the kings' names used here show that this class of products was made about 580 B.C. The inscriptions on the pottery have yielded what Mr. Ernest Gardner considers—apparently on firm grounds—to be the oldest Ionic inscriptions, as well as some in the Corinthian, Melian, and Lesbian alphabets. The great number of these dedications—about 500 before the Persian age—gives them the more importance, since

mere accidental variations can be rejected. The details of this work were so thoroughly published in the two volumes on 'Naukratis,'<sup>1</sup> that we need only allude to it here.

The next step was the clearing of the Greek camp at Daphnae. Here a great fort had been built by Psammetikhos about 665 B.C. for his Greek mercenaries to guard the Syrian frontier—probably the twin to the great fort at Naukratis guarding the Libyan frontier. This settlement was ruined in 565 B.C. by Amasis, when he granted sole privileges of trade to Naukratis.



Thus its remains are limited to just a century, and the greater part of the painted pottery is still more closely limited to 595—565 B.C. by other details. This thirty years exactly covers the dates for five similar varieties of pottery, which I found and dated quite independently at Naukratis. So that we may

<sup>1</sup> *Naukratis*, Part I. 1884-5, by W. M. Flinders Petrie, with chapters by C. Smith, E. A. Gardner, and B. V. Head; *Third Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1886. *Nau-*

*kratis*, Part II., by E. A. Gardner and F. Ll. Griffith; *Sixth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1888.

confidently fix the stages of the various kinds of pottery found at Daphnae as close as a single generation. We often found, both at Naukratis and Daphnae, that iron tools of different forms to those of the Egyptians were commonly used; these show the types of implements invented by the Greeks. The gold work and abundance of small weights at Daphnae point to this place as the source of much of the Greek jewellery influenced by Egyptian designs: just as Naukratis was the home of the Graeco-Egyptian scarabs. The various points of local interest in these sites I do not refer to, as my object now is to note the remains illustrating the history of antiquities in Greece. The full details of Daphnae appeared in *Tanis*, ii.<sup>1</sup>

Another discovery not far from here is connected with the Karian mercenaries. On a stela copied by Texier at Konieh a warrior is represented holding a double-pointed—or forked—spear. This very peculiar weapon seems therefore to have belonged to the south of Asia Minor. At the cemetery of Nebesheh I found a class of graves belonging to foreign mercenaries. They dated apparently from about 650 to 500 B.C., by their relation to neighbouring Egyptian burials. In these graves were foreign pottery, the globular form of pilgrim bottles with concentric circles; and spear-heads both with edges and of the forked form. The bodies also lay nearly all with the heads east, and without any sepulchral figures, whereas the Egyptian bodies lay nearly all with the heads west, and usually had an abundance of figures. We can hardly doubt that we have here the graves of the Karian mercenaries of Psammetikhos.

We see then that back to 650 B.C. we have secured a firm footing for Greek pottery at Naukratis and Daphnae. In what follows I should first state that I give the Egyptian chronology as indicated by the Sirius festival, which is far the most certain result, but is the lowest yet adopted; any other sources would lead to dates a century or two more remote.

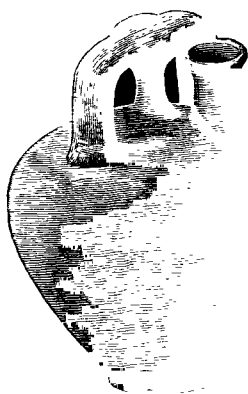
The next step we obtain is from the pottery in a tomb at Kahun near the mouth of the Fayum. This tomb belongs to about 1100 B.C., or within fifty years of that, either way. It contained some dozens of bodies, and a great quantity of pottery, Egyptian, Phoenician, Cypriote, and Aegean. This latter term I use to avoid the historical question of the race which produced this early pottery, and the local question as to whether it belongs to the Peloponnessos, the islands, or the Asiatic coast. The principal vase of importance is here figured (Pl. XIV. fig. 1). It is of a fine light-brown paste, with red iron-glaze pattern. The form and the design are evidently from the same factory as the two octopus vases, which also came from Egypt—one in the Abbott collection at New York, the other found at Erment and now in the British Museum. This style of vase, with the beginning of natural designs, may then be assigned to about 1100 B.C. The whole contents of this tomb are together in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and will be published in '*Illahun*.'

<sup>1</sup> *Tanis*, Part II. Nebesheh (Am) and Delfenneh (Tahpanhes). By W. M. Flinders Petrie, with chapters by A. S. Murray and F.

Ll. Griffith. *Fourth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1888.



The next style to consider is that of the false-necked vases, otherwise called *bügelkannen*, or 'pseud-amphorae.' I will not attempt to limit what their range may be in Cyprus or elsewhere; here we can only notice what is the Egyptian evidence. The most degraded of all were those found by Mr. Griffith at Tell el Yahudiyeh, of about 1050 B.C. (Ramessu VI.). These have no ornament, are roughly formed in a debased and clumsy way, of the plain red pottery of the country. The next stage is a neatly made example of native pottery, unornamented but much modified from the original shape. I found this at Gurob, dated to about 1150 B.C. (Seti II.). This is now in the



Ashmolean. The next form is an extra large size of fine paste, but not of the Aegean quality, with traces of red painting: fairly well formed, but not normal. This I found at Gurob dated to about 1200 B.C. (Ramessu II.). Now in the Ashmolean. Before that, about 1350 B.C. (Tutankhamen), I found perfectly formed examples of the true pale-brown paste, and iron-glaze lines with discs surrounded by a circle of dots as the only ornament. These are of the wide shallow type, elegantly shaped, and mark the highest stage of this form (Pl. XIV. fig. 2, in my possession). The earliest of all are of a deep, globular form, of which several were found dated to about 1400 B.C. (Amenhotep III.), with broad iron-glaze bands, and no other ornament, painted on a base of Aegean paste (Pl. XIV. fig. 3, in the British Museum). These are in the Ashmolean and British Museum. The details of these remains will be stated in '*Illahun*.'

We have then carried back a chain of examples in sequence, showing that the earliest geometrical pottery of Mykenae begins about 1400 B.C. and is succeeded by the beginning of natural designs about 1100 B.C. It may be asked how we come to find such a series in Egypt. These are part of the products of that great wave of Graeco-Libyan conquest which swept almost over Egypt time after time. Under Shishak the Libyans finally entered into power in Egypt, the outcome of their invasions which had been previously repelled by Ramessu III. (1100 B.C.), by Merenptah (1190 B.C.), and by Amenhotep (about 1600 B.C.). At the mouth of the Fayum they were firmly

established, and Aegean pottery is found there, along with customs of funeral sacrifice of property by fire. Another historical clue is found in that settlement by the supposed cloak pins, which are found in one class of Cypriote tombs. These are ribbed metal pins with an eye in the middle of the length; and the best explanation of their use is that they served as a fastening to a garment, passed through the hole like a swivel at the end of a watch-guard (Pl. XIV. fig. 4). These I have found in both gold and bronze; the brief history of the town dates them to about 1400—1200 B.C., and hence we reach a date for the tombs in Cyprus where they are found. Another interesting relic of these same Graeco-Libyan invasions was found at Abusir, in the middle of the Delta, and is in my possession. So far as the lower part of the figure is concerned it is exactly copied from the Greek island figures in marble, the treatment being quite unlikely in pottery, but imitating the rounded mass



and shallow grooving of the stone. The head shows however the Libyan lock of hair, the sign of that race. To the xiith century B.C. we must then approximately date this figure, and with it the marble figures found in the Greek islands.

So far we have dealt with facts which are now hardly controvertible, as to the well-fixed age of these vases. But we have pushed the dim period back, and must reckon with it in much earlier times. The civilization of Mykenae was no sudden apparition; it must have had centuries of preparation; and we now turn to what came before its time. In the ruins of a town of the XIIth dynasty, about 2500 B.C., at the mouth of the Fayum, there are many varieties of foreign pottery, altogether different to any known in the times through which we have previously gone back to—1400 B.C. The fact that these styles are almost all unknown hitherto; that they are mostly ruder than the pottery after 1400 B.C., that they are constantly associated with Egyptian pottery older than 2000 B.C., and that they are found in rubbish-

heaps which have never been disturbed since probably 2500 B.C., are all strong evidences of their great age.

At first the fine, hard, thin, light-brown paste, of Aegean origin, with iron-glaze bands, might seem to point to a much later time; any one who knows Greek pottery at once recognizes it as familiar. But the form of the most complete pieces of this show a type hitherto quite unknown. It has no lip, and no ornament about the mouth; simply a round hole is cut in the pottery, without any further design (Pl. XIV. fig. 5, in the British Museum). The only parallels to this which I know are a vase with similar mouth, found in rubbish-heaps of 2500 B.C. (Pl. XIV. fig. 6, in the British Museum), of the same form as a vase found inside the pyramid of that age; and also the earliest Amorite pottery in Palestine, some before 1500 B.C. The form therefore shows that we must not claim a late origin for this vase, but rather take back the date of the fine Aegean paste and iron glaze to the time indicated by the circumstances of the finding. Another piece which at first sight might look much later is a black spiral on a white ground (Pl. XIV. fig. 7, in the British Museum). But the mass of the pottery below the black iron glazing is of a curiously coarse kind, unlike any Greek pottery known, and it has a line of soft, powdery, bright-red colour on it, also unlike the known colours. This same soft red, and also soft yellow and white, is seen on a strange piece of black pottery with lines, and the Aegean pattern of discs surrounded by dots (Pl. XIV. fig. 8, in the British Museum). Nothing like this is known within the range of Greek pottery, yet it is wholly un-Egyptian, and the pattern shows its Aegean connection. Other pieces indicate rather an Italian origin. The impressed pattern is like some early Italian, rather than anything else (Pl. XIV. fig. 10, in the British Museum). And the incised black ware is exactly paralleled by some of the Italian *bucchero* in its colour, its form, its vandykes, and its spot-pricking (Pl. XIV. fig. 9, in the British Museum). Yet this pottery is only known in Egypt before 2000 B.C. M. Naville found it at Khatanah in very deep burials with scarabs of that age; and now it is found often in a town of the same period.

To what does this evidence tend? So far as we can venture to form a working hypothesis, we are led to carry back the Graeco-Libyan league to account for it. The whole of the early civilization of the Peloponnessos, commonly now known as the 'Mykenae period,' is a branch of the civilization of the bronze age in Europe, with but little contact with the East. Gaul, Hungary, Italy, Greece, and Libya all enjoyed a simultaneous civilization which brought these countries far more into contact with one another than with the Asiatic lands which played so great a part in the later-Greek culture. The fruit of this civilization, and its power, is seen in the vigorous wars which it made on Egypt, attacking and at last subduing the strongest and most homogeneous monarchy of ancient times. If this were the case in the second millennium B.C. as the Egyptian inscriptions show us, and if at that time the luxurious and beautiful objects found at Mykenae and Tiryns were being made, what wonder is it if this culture were already rising a thousand years earlier? The Egyptians were in contact with the northern people of the

Mediterranean as early as 2800 B.C., and the evidence of the weights and measures found in the town of 2500 B.C. shows that the inhabitants were mainly foreigners. This points to another possibility (suggested to me by Prof. Poole) that as in Manetho the XVIth dynasty is named as of 'Hellenic Shepherd kings' (on which editors in their wisdom have made conjectural emendations) there may be some truth in this strange passage. Why may not a similar Mediterranean invasion have poured into Egypt in 2000 B.C. as it did in 1200, 1100 and 1000? The Libyo-Greek league may have been already strong enough to pour in a horde on the country already beaten down by the Hyksos invasion. And the co-operation (accidental or planned) of the Hittite and the western invasions under the Ramessides, may have had an earlier parallel with the Syrian Hyksos, and the Westerns before that. Whatever our conjectures in this dim period may be, we have to deal with the rise of the Libyo-Greek civilization, and the league to which it led.

The general results of my excavations from the Greek point of view then are: (1) That we have dated the Greek pottery to within a generation as far as 600 B.C. (2) That we have dated it to within a century as far back as 1400 B.C. (3) That we have tangible remains of the Greek or Libyo-Akhaian invasions of Egypt as far as this period. And (4) that we have pushed back the hazy and speculative region to before 2000 B.C., and shown some reasons for looking to a rise of European civilization before 2500 B.C. Egypt may yet have surprises in store for us.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

## THE MAKING OF PANDORA.

[PLATES XI., XII.]

THE sculptured drum of the later Temple of Artemis at Ephesos, excavated by Mr. Wood, and now in the British Museum, is a familiar piece of sculpture.<sup>1</sup> Its interpretation however is still doubtful.

The best known view is that of Robert,<sup>2</sup> who connects the sculpture with the story of Alcestis, though not exactly with the story as told by Euripides. According to Robert's view Alcestis stands in Hades, about to depart. Hades and Persephone have given their sanction, Hermes Psychopompos escorts her, Death beckons to her to go, and Heracles stands on the left of the group, as a spectator. Robert's interpretation is attractive and poetical, but there are considerable difficulties, some of which are pressed against him by Benndorf in presenting his own view. The story does not correspond with the literary versions; the representation of Death as a beardless youth seems improbable, though not without parallel on the vases; the action of Persephone, holding up a necklace, which can hardly be neglected, is left unexplained.

Benndorf,<sup>3</sup> having shown the difficulties in Robert's theory, proposes one of his own, and calls the scene the Judgment of Paris. The suggestion is striking, but hardly convincing. According to Benndorf, the groups are Hera decking herself with a necklace, in the presence of Zeus; Aphrodite draping herself, accompanied by Eros; Hermes bringing the goddesses to Paris, and Paris standing on the left. The difficulties here are that the subject seems an unlikely one; that its treatment departs widely from the established scheme; that the dark and gloomy look of the Eros, and the upthrown head and opened mouth of Hermes are unexplained. To this extent only I am in agreement with Benndorf, that in the seated figure I see Zeus, and in the winged figure I see Eros.

As no convincing interpretation has been brought forward, it appears that on any fresh suggestion the case must be heard *de novo*. The view I wish to advance in this paper is that the subject of the column may be the making and sending forth of Pandora, as told by Hesiod.

Pandora's story is told twice by Hesiod—once in the *Theogony*, and once

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1873, Pls. 65, 66; Wood, *Ephesus*, frontispiece; published also by Robert and Benndorf in works cited below.

<sup>2</sup> Robert, *Thanatos*. 39th *Wiackelmann Programm*, 1879. The winged and sword-girt

figure had been previously identified with the Thanatos of the *Alcestis* by a writer in the *Saturday Review*, 1873, No. 898, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. della Comm. Arch. Comunale di Roma*, 1886, p. 54.

more fully in the *Works and Days*. Zeus had hidden the fire from mankind, and Prometheus stole it, hidden in his reed. Zeus in his wrath devised a scheme of vengeance. He bade Hephaestus make a fair maiden, and bade Athene to teach her weaving and the other gods to give each a gift. When the gods had endowed Pandora, then Zeus bade Hermes take her to Epimetheus, and Epimetheus received her, contrary to the counsel of Prometheus.

In sculpture, the Birth of Pandora is known to have been represented by Pheidias on the base of the Parthenon.<sup>1</sup> Of the suggestions of this composition preserved to us I will speak later.

In extant works of art the story of Pandora appears but seldom. I believe that only three vases are known which certainly contain this subject.<sup>2</sup> It happens curiously that all three are in the British Museum. The three vases are :—

(1) The Bale cup.<sup>3</sup> This is a kylix with the interior scene polychrome on a white ground. A doll-like Pandora, named by the inscription [A]nesidora, stands between Athene and Hephaestus. Athene appears to be draping the figure, and Hephaestus is adjusting the diadem on her head.

(2) A fragment of a rhyton, excavated at Paphos by the Cyprus Exploration Fund, and already published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.<sup>4</sup> In that fragment parts of five figures are preserved from the knees downwards. Apparently Pandora stood stiffly to the front, between Hephaestus and Athene, who, I believe, was not leaning on her spear, as stated in the text, but probably had her spear resting against her shoulder, while her hands held out a wreath.

(3) A red-figured crater from Altamura, which is hitherto unpublished, and which I take this opportunity of publishing.<sup>5</sup> On each side of the vase are two tiers of figures. On the upper row of the obverse of the vase (Pl. XI.) is the story of Pandora. Pandora stands stiffly, holding branches in her hands. Athene stretches out her wreath. Zeus, who is attended by Iris, is seated on the left with thunderbolt and sceptre. The remaining gods the vase-painter has drawn in typical attitudes, but without any special reference to their gifts. Poseidon and Hera stand, Hermes is represented as the running messenger, Ares as the warrior on the march.

In the lower tier we have a comic dance of four actors, in part Panes, in part Satyrs, accompanied by a citharist.

On the reverse of the vase (Pl. XII.), the upper tier of figures represents a graceful pantomimic dance of six girls, to the accompaniment of a citharist, and in the presence of a choregos.

Below we have a game of real Satyrs, if the expression is admissible to distinguish them from the actors. Four Satyrs are playing, two riding on the shoulders of two others. A Maenad and a boy Satyr, who has been driving

<sup>1</sup> Paus. I. xxiv. 7 ; Pliny *H.N.* XXXVI. v. 19.

<sup>2</sup> For doubtful vases, cf. Lenormant and De Witte, *Elite* I. p. 166, and plate liii.

<sup>3</sup> Br. Mus. No. D. 62 from the Bale collection;

Gerhard, *Festgedanken an Winckelmann*, pl. 1 ; Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 450.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. ix. p. 221.

<sup>5</sup> No. F. 113. Height 1 ft. 7¼ in

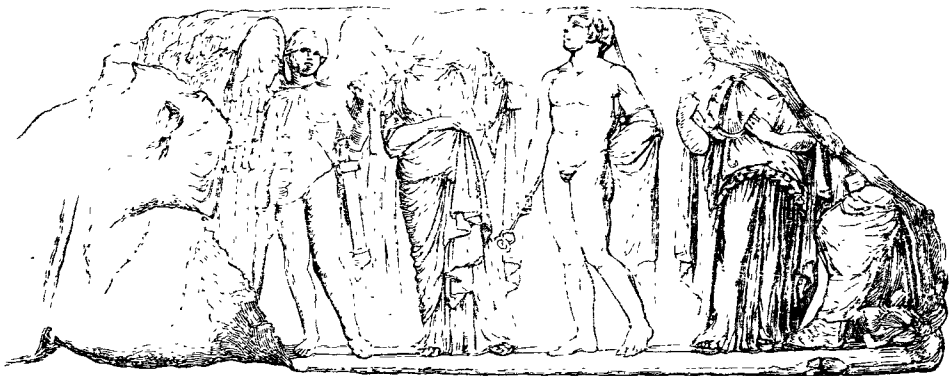
his hoop, are watching. An older Satyr, who seems to be taking a less active part in the game, holds out a ball, while the mounted Satyrs appear to be holding out their hands in order to catch it. I have not found any game that



exactly corresponds to the scene represented, but the game of *ephedrismos*, as described by Pollux (ix. 119), combines the riding and the play with a ball :

‘In ephedrismos they set up a stone at a distance and aim at it with balls or stones. He who fails to knock it over carries him who has succeeded until, with his eyes covered, he reaches the stone, which is called *δίωπος*.’

Having ascertained the typical scheme in which the story of Pandora is depicted so far as our scanty materials allow, we may return once more to the



Ephesian drum, and examine how far it agrees with the scheme and with Hesiod. In discussing the different figures I follow the order of Hesiod's tale.

Zeus as is fitting, is seated, probably at the end of the group. His body

is lost from the middle upwards. That we have here one of the principal gods can hardly be doubted, whatever may be the subject of the relief; and the position of this figure closely corresponds to the Zeus of the Pandora vase (Pl. XI). Hephaestos, to whom Zeus entrusted the making of Pandora, has finished his work, and he stands on the extreme left of the extant portion of the relief. In previous publications of the column only the left arm and drapery of a male figure are shown. But I believe that there is a portion of the original surface further to the left, showing a part of a stick. The whole figure, so far as it can be recovered, appears to be that of a man, nude except for a mantle, standing with a stick as a support under the right arm, and with the left hand resting on the thigh. In his way of leaning on a stick he may be compared with the supposed Hephaestos of the East Frieze of the Parthenon.

In the middle of the scene stands Pandora. Naturally the sculptor has not copied the strange doll-like figures of the vase-painters. His Pandora stands stiffly turned to the front, and in the lower part of the drapery there is a formality which suggests the typical figure of the vases. But in the upper part of the figure there is life, and she is seen putting her mantle about her with both hands, as for a journey. It has been objected that Pandora is going away without her gifts, but this would have been less marked if the head was preserved, turning towards Hermes, and it may fairly be argued that the sculptor has combined two moments in his endeavour to tell the whole story.

The remaining figures are gods, bestowing their gifts and preparing to lead Pandora to Epimetheus. Athene is not seen here, as on the three vases. We must suppose that she stood next to Hephaestos where the marble is broken away. A goddess stands near Zeus, holding out a necklace or, it may be, a diadem in her two hands. We are told by Hesiod

ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ χάριτες τε θεαὶ καὶ ποτνία Πειθῶ  
ὄρμους χρυσείους ἔθεσαν χροῖ.

(*Works and Days*, l. 73.)

If we follow Hesiod, we should call this figure Peitho. But the way in which she stands close beside the knees of Zeus suggests that the gift of Peitho has been transferred to Hera, who in the vase merely stands watching. The necklace thus gains the significance which in Robert's theory it lacks. It must be noted that the decking of Pandora with a necklace, a wreath or a diadem is prominent in all forms of the myth, for a reason which I discuss below. In the *Theogony* (l. 578) Hephaestos gives a marvellous diadem wrought by himself, and in the Bale cup he puts his hand to the diadem of Pandora. In the *Theogony* also (in a suspected passage, l. 576) Athene puts wreaths of fresh grass on the head of Pandora. On the crater and, I conjecture, on the rhyton Athene holds out a wreath. In the *Works and Days* (l. 65), while the Graces and Peitho gave necklaces, the Seasons crowned the woman with spring flowers.

The two figures that remain are Eros and Hermes, standing one on each



side of Pandora. Aphrodite is not present. The sculptor has chosen to put the gift in place of the giver. Zeus had ordered

χάριν ἀμφιχέαι κεφαλῇ χρυσέην Ἀφροδίτην  
καὶ πόθον ἀργαλέον καὶ γυιοβόρους μελεδῶνας

(*Works and Days*, l. 65),

and Pandora is therefore accompanied by Love viewed in his dark and grievous aspects. His look is gloomy, he is girt with a sword,<sup>1</sup> and makes a beckoning gesture to Pandora.

The beautiful figure of Hermes, as I would interpret it, is meant to suggest both his special gifts to Pandora, and his office as messenger. Hermes, by command of Zeus, gave lying and deceit, but also he gave speech and called the woman Pandora—

ἐν δ' ἄρα φωνὴν  
θῆκε θεῶν κῆρυξ, ὀνόμηνε δὲ τήνδε γυναιῖκα  
Πανδώρην.

(*Works and Days*, l. 79.)

The most curious detail in the Hermes is the way in which his mouth is opened. It is so marked that the draughtsmen who have drawn the figure seem afraid to do it justice.<sup>2</sup> While the teeth are not much opened, the lips are forced apart like the lips of a person talking in dumb show. Is it going too far to suppose that the sculptor meant to convey that Hermes, with head thrown back and lips parted, is breathing forth the gift of speech to Pandora? Meanwhile the caduceus and petasus and action of stepping forward remind us of the messenger who brought the fated woman to Epimetheus—

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δόλον αἰπὺν ἀμήχανον ἐξετέλεσσεν,  
εἰς Ἐπιμηθεά πέμπε πατὴρ κλυτὸν Ἀργεῖφόντην  
δῶρον ἄγοντα, θεῶν ταχὺν ἄγγελον.

(*Works and Days*, l. 83.)

Such is the interpretation that I wish to put forward for the Ephesian column. It is subject to the uncertainty that attends an explanation based on a small number of instances. I may mention however that the idea first suggested itself to me on seeing a drawing of the base of the Parthenos, so far as it is preserved in the copy found at Pergamon.<sup>3</sup> That relief, which is unfortunately much mutilated, is probably copied, as Puchstein argues, from the Birth of Pandora by Pheidias. Several figures were sufficiently alike to suggest the connection, but it must be added that the resemblance appears greater at the first glance than subsequently. Another copy of the composition of Pheidias is preserved in the Lenormant

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Benndorf, *loc. cit.* p. 60.

Mitchell, *Hist. of Anc. Sculpt.*, p. 535.

<sup>2</sup> I fear that in the cut given here the open mouth is exaggerated. It is shown correctly in

<sup>3</sup> *Jahrb. des Inst. Arch.* v. p. 114.

statuette. We gather from it that Helios and Selene bounded the scene, but the remaining figures are too rudely sketched to be of any service.

The question will be asked, what claim the myth of Pandora can have to appear in a temple of Artemis. But perhaps the connection is not so remote as at the first sight it may appear.

It must be remembered that at Ephesos we have not to deal with the chaste huntress goddess. The Artemis of Ephesos is a monstrous creature. Her idol is covered with breasts, and covered head to foot with figures of countless animals, as lions, bulls, bees and others. In short, there can be no doubt that the Artemis of Ephesos is an Asiatic goddess, in the most direct manner emblematic of the fruitfulness of the earth.

The significance of Pandora is no less certain. On the Bale cup she is called Anesidora, she who sends up gifts from the soil. For her Hephaestus made a diadem wrought with figures of animals—

τῇ δ' ἐνὶ δαίδαλα πολλὰ τετεύχαστο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι  
κνώδαλ', ὅσ' ἥπειρος πολλὰ τρέφει ἥδ' ἑ θάλασσα.

(*Theogony*, l. 581.)

For her, as we have seen, Athene and the Seasons brought wreaths of grass and spring flowers, statements which indicate that Hesiod was conscious of Pandora's true significance. To her in the latest days of paganism Apollonius of Tyana<sup>1</sup> addressed his prayers, and from her apparently obtained that a piece of ground should be fertile both of olives and treasure.

It is no part of my argument that the sculptor has confused the personalities of the two beings; but a reason may be found for his choice of a subject in the absolute identity of functions of the Asiatic Artemis and the Hellenic Pandora.

A. H. SMITH.

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<sup>1</sup> Philostr. *Vita Apoll. Tyana*, vi. 39.

## TWO GREEK RELIEFS.

IN the bas-relief room of the Naples Museum is a well-known relief of Hellenic workmanship from Herculaneum, the importance of which has often been pointed out in connection with the art-type of three female figures, variously taken to represent the Charites, the Nymphs, the three goddesses or the daughters of Kekrops, according to the company in which they are found. Inside a plain shrine represented by two antae supporting an architrave, above which are seven knobs indicating the anthemia of the roof-ridges, are seven female figures hand in hand, six of them of the same size and the last smaller. The first three, two of whom are looking to the left, wear over a long chiton a himation wrapped over the left shoulder in the usual manner, and remind one somewhat of the Pyrrichist base in the Acropolis Museum; the second trio are simply clad in Doric girdled chiton, two of these also looking to the left: the seventh is a small similarly clad female figure seen full face. It is noticeable that the central figure is absolutely full face and that those at the two ends have their faces slightly turned towards the centre, a device for securing the symmetry of the group. The connection of this work with the archaic coloured relief, lately discovered on the Acropolis and published by M. Lechat in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* for 1889, in which Hermes piping precedes the three Graces who follow hand in hand to the left, their faces seen full, and lead after them a small similarly dressed figure, has been pointed out most recently by Miss Harrison in her *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*; but the interesting names inscribed below the Naples relief (*C.I.G.* iv. 6854*c*) seem to have been disregarded. Either they are a forgery, in which case the fact should certainly be established; or, if genuine, they seem to confirm the identification of the Acropolis group with the Charites and to supply an interesting clue to this mysterious small figure. Under the first trio are the names given to the Graces in later times, ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ ΑΓΛΑΙΗ ΘΑΛΙΗ. The next three bear the apparent fancy names of ΙΣΜΗΝΗ ΚΥΚΑΙΣ ΕΡΑΝΝΩ.

The diminutive figure, which ends the row and is certainly female, is inscribed ΤΕΛΟΝΝΗΣΟΣ. It can hardly be said that this is a purely fancy name; for why should so curious a title have been devised for a female figure? Pape and Benseler give it as a proper name, but again why so strange a one? If the figure were male, the smallness of its stature would easily be understood as the natural representation of a mortal in the presence of immortals,

and it might be taken for the dedicator, though even so the name would be surprising. But Telonnesos suggests irresistibly a place, and a female impersonation of a city is quite natural. The sex of the Acropolis figure may be doubted, but it is dressed in a precisely similar way to the three Charites and only distinguished from them by the absence of the polos: while no one could deny the possibility of its being female, everything points in that direction. It appears that the actual form Telonnesos does not occur as a place name; but the island Telos suggests itself at once, and for the form such names as Halonnesos and Prokonnesos are sufficient justification. If it be allowed then that Telonnesos is here the name of a place, it will be a strong argument for a similar explanation of the small figure in the Acropolis relief, which will no longer be either the dedicator or some subordinate hero associated with the worship of Hermes and the Charites (as M. Lechat suggests), but the representative of the community which set up this votive offering on the Acropolis. This theory may be at any rate said to have a strong probability in its favour, unless it can be shown that the Naples inscription is forged.

G. C. RICHARDS.

## FOURTEENTH-CENTURY TACHYGRAPHY.

[PLATES IX., X.]

THE Vatican MS. numbered Regina 181, written in 1364 and containing the medical works of Actuarius, has at various parts of it several more or less continuous pieces of tachygraphy that, considering the late date of the MS. and the character of the tachygraphical system itself, are very remarkable. I was made aware of the existence of these specimens of tachygraphy from Signor Enrico Stevenson's recent catalogue of the Queen of Sweden and Pio II. collection (Rome 1888), and on a recent visit to Rome I had photographs taken of two of the principal passages where tachygraphy is employed: these are reproduced here.

The MS. itself is a paper book, measuring  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 5, written according to the subscription in 1364: for a fuller description and a list of the contents I may refer to Signor Stevenson. The tachygraphical matter in the book falls into three divisions: first, certain passages in the text, where, departing from his ordinary usage, the scribe suddenly as it were drops into shorthand; secondly, a formal table of tachygraphical and other signs, with their interpretations at the end of the book; and lastly, two notes of considerable length, and of somewhat uncertain meaning, which are written on either side of an empty page between the table of contents and the text.

I. To deal first with the passages in the text. The text is written in a regular, small, rather poor fourteenth-century hand, without many abbreviations of any sort: the sign for *ἀπὸ* however is frequent, and I find isolated instances of signs for *καὶ*, *όμοῦ*, *τὸν*, and *-τοῖς* in *τούτοις*. There appear to be five passages in which the scribe, for whatever reason, has departed from his usual practice of writing out in full and adopted a more or less tachygraphical system. It may be convenient to give these passages here, as far as they can be reproduced in print, and to transcribe them.

I. F. 219v.  $\textcircled{\text{F}}$ ς ὑπο ῥυγονος θ̄<sup>ss</sup> δειχθείσι / παρὰ χρ<sup>α</sup><sub>η</sub> ἐν περιώδυνίαι ἀρχονται συμβαίνειν σπασμοί τε συνεχεῖς ὁ<sup>ς</sup> / ὄνος ὁ<sup>ς</sup> διανοίας παρὰφόρα ετα δὲ ταῦτα ἀφωνία καὶ σκοῖςμὸς  $\textcircled{\text{O}}$  αὐδὸς ἔ ὁ<sup>ς</sup> ἐπληγῶς ὑπος  $\textcircled{\text{X}}$  ἡ κύκλω ὁ<sup>ς</sup>

τοῖς ὑπο τρύγονος? δειχθεῖσι παραχρήμα μὲν περιωδυνῖαι ἄρχονται συμβαίνειν σπασμοὶ τε συνεχεῖς καὶ πόνος καὶ διαανοίας [sic] παραφόρα μετα δὲ ταῦτα ἀφωνία καὶ σκοτισμὸς ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτὸς τε ὁ πεπληγὸς τόπος μέλας γίνεται κύκλῳ καὶ τὰ πλησίον αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀφήν ἀναίσθητα ἐπ' αὐν δέ τις αὐτὸν ἀπόψη ἰχῶρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μέλας τραχὺς δυσώδης ἐκκρίνεται ἀρμόζει δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὅσα—.

καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐχεοδῆκτων ἐροῦμεν ἔτι δὲ ἡρτισμοὶ [?] ἄρτισμοὶ] ἀψινθίων.  
ἐλελίσφάκου ἢ θείου ξυνόζει · καὶ αὕτῃ δὲ ἀναπίνυγχθῆσα [?] κατεσθεῖσα [?]  
τῆς ἰδίας γίνεται πληγῆς ἱάμα· τοῖς δὲ ὑπο τ[ο]υ γαλῆς δεχθεῖσι · κύκλω  
μεν πρὸς τὸν τόπον τοῦ δῆγμάτος φλεγμονή · φλυκτὶς δὲ ἐπανίσταται  
μέλαινα μεστή ἰχῶρος ὑδατώδους καὶ τὰ πλησίον ἔπειτα πελιοῦται · ῥω-  
γάζσης τε τῆς φλυκταΐδος νομὴ ἀναλαμβάνει παρα πλησίον τῶν ἀπο τῶν  
ἐρπύτρων σὺν τούτοις δὲ παρέπεται καὶ στρόφος περὶ τὰ ἐντερα καὶ  
δυσουρία καὶ ψυχρὰς νοτίδος περιχύσις.

καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς θηριακῆς ἀντιδότου λόγον — καὶ συντίθενται ἀντί-  
δοσις ἐφεξῆς περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐρουμένων ἀντιδότην — οὐ πᾶσας δὲ ἐκ-  
θήσομαι · εἰς μῆκος γὰρ οὐ μέτριον ἂν ἐπιταθείη τὸ βιβλίον.

ἐπίβαλε μέλιτος τὸ σύμμετρον · καὶ βραχὺ ἐψήσεις καὶ διηθήσας δίδου  
 πίνειν· ἐνὶ δὲ κόψαντες λείαν τὴν χαμελαίαν καὶ ἐμβαλόντες αὐτ[ῆς] μὲν  
 ᾧ, ἀψυνθίου δὲ κόμης τὸ διπλάσιον ἀναλαβόντε[ς] μελιτι ἐφθῶ κατὰ  
 πότον διδόασι.

I may observe by way of explanation that in setting these passages into

print I have omitted any peculiarities unimportant to the actual tachygraphical signs, and have expanded the ligatures and ordinary abbreviations; where a shorthand symbol occurs however, I have represented its immediate surroundings as accurately as possible. Next I may offer some observations upon details, remarking generally that as these passages come without exception from Book V. of Actuarius, which is unedited, it has been impossible to compare a printed text for the elucidation of the context. In No. I. the fourth word,  $\theta^{ss}$ , has no very apparent meaning, at least I have not been able to hit on one to suit it. The rest of the paragraph runs smoothly. Some of the signs in the original are distorted, but as it is impossible to give more than an approximation to them in print, comment on them would lose its point. The word  $\sigma\sigma$  in line 4 is an instance of a plural abbreviation formed by doubling the single sign, a practice common though little noticed. In line 7 the sign before  $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota$  must be a development of that for  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ , which in the tenth century appears as  $\beta$ . The sign immediately in front of  $\pi\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  is apparently the ordinary form for  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$  plus the stroke for  $\pi$ . In No. III. the double dots, above and below iota, in  $\sigma\nu\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\iota$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\nu$  are singular: obviously the  $\tau$  dots are placed beneath to avoid confusion with the natural dots of the iota itself. Nos. III. and IV. call for no remark, except that in the last word but one in IV.,  $\pi\acute{o}\tau\omicron\nu$ , I do not know if the dots are due to a mistake in my copy: they seem superfluous.

It is convenient, before I pass to the two facsimiles, to consider the shorthand system that is used in these portions of the text of the MS. It is to be found commonly stated that two systems of Greek shorthand are known to have existed—one, the earlier, of which no specimen now remains, but separate signs from which have passed into, and form the greater part of, the usual system of abbreviation that is found in Greek MSS.; the second and later system, of which we have considerable examples in books of the tenth and eleventh centuries, agreeing to some extent with the older, but also differing largely from it, and that has contributed to Greek book-contraction a certain number of signs, which seem, where they occur, to bear a more specifically tachygraphical nature than the others. In the manuscript with which I am dealing, the bulk of the book contains the ordinary signs for contraction; the more abbreviated passages that I have collected above offer a modification of the later tachygraphy, that consists in two points; first the use of several new signs; second, a difference in usage due to the general influence of the century in which the book was written. The new signs used are  $\gamma$  for  $\pi$ ,  $\dots$  beneath the following letter for  $\mu$ , and apparently  $:$  for  $\beta$ ; of these the signs for  $\pi$  and  $\mu$  are in very frequent employment (cf.  $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota$  in facs. 1, fifth line from the top), that for  $\beta$  occurs only twice ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{o}\nu\tau\epsilon\sigma$ , No. IV. line 3, facs. 1  $\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron$ ). None of them occur in tenth century tachygraphy; the reader, consulting the tables in Rüss' *Zur griechische Tachygraphie* (Neuburg 1882), will find that all three letters are represented by other signs in that storehouse of later tachygraphy, Vat. 1809. Beside these, there are some differences that, though not novelties in themselves, mark the natural development of writing during three centuries. The distortion or alteration

of the actual symbols can, as I have already said, not be represented in print, but the two facsimiles, to be hereafter considered, will, if compared with Gitlbauer's facsimile of Vat. 1809, or with (to mention only English reproductions) the Palaeographical Society's facsimiles of Add. MSS. 18231, Angelica B. 3.11, and two or three MSS. from Grotta Ferrata, make it plain what a new aspect the fourteenth-century scribe gave to the signs that we find in their normal form in the tenth. More particularly however, there is to be noticed the change in the manner of application of the dot-abbreviations, that is to say  $\tau$  and  $\mu$ .<sup>1</sup> In tenth century MSS. the dots that indicate  $\tau$  ( $\mu$  of course does not come into question) are joined invariably with other *symbols*, and superadd  $\tau$  to those symbols, that is to say the dots to be applied need a sign, a form, to receive them. But in Reg. 181, the scribe applies them with freedom, equally to symbols and to words written out in full; the first word in No. I.,  $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , in tenth century tachygraphy must, if the  $\tau$  was included in the contraction, be  $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ; here it is  $\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ; in line 4,  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  is  $\alpha\upsilon\delta\varsigma$ , but earlier it would have been  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron$ , or rather  $\tau\omicron$ , omitting the former syllable; again  $\tau\alpha$  in Reg. 181 is  $\alpha$ , earlier it must have been  $\tau$  or at least  $\tau\alpha$ ; in No. II. line 1  $\omega\nu$  in the tenth century was  $\omega$  or  $\omega\nu$ , and  $\epsilon$  (I. line 4) was  $\epsilon$ . We see in Reg. 181 the same free use of the  $\cdot\cdot$  for  $\mu$ , though, as the sign does not exist in the earlier tachygraphy, there is no opportunity of comparing the respective usage. The reason for this difference of usage is plain. The employment of abbreviations, while on the whole it probably became greater in the later centuries, was certainly limited to fewer and fewer cases, that is, a smaller selection of words were abbreviated, but these were abbreviated more frequently. This is a universal and easily-observed phenomenon. Now, applying this to Reg. 181, one sees that there were a smaller number of words likely to be rendered by compendiums; and consequently that, when the scribe applied his dots for  $\tau$  and  $\mu$ , he would be likely to apply them in a greater number of cases to full words than to symbols. Thus this usage, that strikes strangely on any one who is acquainted with earlier tachygraphy, finds its explanation in the natural development of writing. Other usages that betray the late character of the MS. are in No. III. line 3,  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  for  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , when the word was already fully rendered by  $\epsilon\iota$ ; and in facsimile I.  $\tau\alpha$  for  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ , where  $\tau$  is by itself  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ . The forgetting the full force of a compendium, and its unnecessary supplement by other elements, are signs characteristic either of an inexperienced scribe or of a late age; I may refer for examples of such abusive uses of the signs for  $\alpha\pi\omicron$  and  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$  to my *Notes on Greek Abbreviations*, p. 7, 18.

The specimens that I have commented upon require to be compared with the only others of the sort that I know; a passage produced from the fifteenth century MS. of Lucian, Vat. Pal. 73, by M. Desrousseaux, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, École française de Rome*, 1886, p. 544 sq.

The same system evidently is employed in this passage: M. Desrousseaux notices the / for  $\pi$ , the  $\cdot\cdot$  for  $\mu$ , and the joining of the dots for  $\tau$  with uncon-

<sup>1</sup> Compare the similar remarks of Desrousseaux, *l.c.* p. 544.



tracted syllables. There appear to be two peculiarities of the fifteenth century MS. that do not occur in the Reg. 181: the *single* point for *ν*, and a very remarkable inverted Tau, in the sense of the ordinary letter.

It is a natural and interesting question to enquire from what quarter and under what circumstances these changes in the later tachygraphical system were made. At present however, and till a clue is found earlier than the fourteenth century, it is a question that need not be compromised by hypotheses.

One may also ask the question how it comes about that this MS. in particular is abbreviated in this manner. It is true it is a medical work, and there is a certain connection in practice between mathematical and scientific MSS. and unusual abbreviations. This however is hardly enough; there are many scientific MSS. that exhibit the ordinary technical signs for number, quantity, etc., and yet are no more influenced by tachygraphy than any other book: and in Reg. 181 these medical signs occur freely, without bringing with them in most places any tachygraphical following. Possibly the occurrence of the tachygraphical notes before the text may suggest that the scribe was practically acquainted with the shorthand system of his century, and used it habitually for his own private memoranda; and accordingly was able, according to his fancy and the requirements of space, to introduce it here and there in a book that he might be writing.

II. On page 284r., at the end of the text, there occurs a table of signs, with their meanings. This is given in the second facsimile, Pl. X. The title runs, ἀρχὴ σὺν θῷ † ἐρμηνεία τῶν στερεῶν γραμμάτων τῶν σηματοκῶν: this word may be meant for *σηματικῶν*. And at the end there are these verses:

εἵπερ θέλεις με μανθάνειν ὦ παιδίον  
 πληγῶν δὲ πολλῶν μηδ' ὅλως πείραν λαβεῖν  
 παίδεψε τὸν νοῦν μηδαμῶς ἔξω τρέχειν  
 ἀλλ' ἔνδον εἶναι καὶ σχολάζειν ὡς δέον  
 μή πως μεταγνῶς εἰ ῥαθυμῆς εἰς τέλος.

(A few errors in the transcript in the Vatican catalogue are here silently corrected.)

Tables of abbreviations with explanations are not very infrequent in MSS. Those that I have myself met with are in Vat. 2200 of the ninth or tenth century (where the heading is simply *σημεῖα*), Modena, Bibl. Estense ii. D. 14 (s. xv.)<sup>1</sup> and Angelica C. 2, 6, s. xvi. (*τινα ἴδια χαρακτηρίσματα, συντομίας χαριν τῆς ἐν τῷ γραφεῖν*). They are usually added on account of the peculiar character of the MS. itself, which has made necessary an unusual number of tachygraphic symbols, a key to which it is thought may be useful to the reader. We see however here, that several of the signs mentioned in the

<sup>1</sup> Acts and Epistles. The syllables given are εἶναι, τοῦτον, γάρ. Most of these do not occur  
 ἔστω, πρὸς, διὰ (mistake for ἔστα), ὅτι, ἄρα, in the text.

table occur nowhere in the MS.; such are *μου, νου, ἀλλα, αὐ, ταῦ, αὐτοῦ, καρ, δερ* [but *δος* No. II. *φλυκταίδος*], *ερ, την, ἐπὶ, το, φυ, μα, κα, ἐκ, της, εὔ, ὑπερ, τοῦ, ταν, σας*. If then so large a number of the signs explained in the table do not occur in the book, what was the intention of the table? This question cannot be answered with any certainty. Possibly the archetype, or the ultimate archetype, was far more abbreviated, and this table was originally appended to it and then copied by successive scribes; or, possibly, the writer of Reg. 181 was a tachygraph of experience, who out of his knowledge composed a list of symbols for general utility without particular reference to his own manuscript. Some other solution may be advanced with equal probability. It may be said that the separate and independent character of the table seems marked by the title, and by the verses at the end: they give it the character of a manual for a pupil, and remind one of the list of ligatures and contractions that found its place till lately in Greek Grammars from that of Aldus (Ven. 1507, *abbreviationes perpulcræ scitu, quibus frequentissimo graeci utuntur indifferenter et in principio et in medio et in fine dictionis*) onwards.

One may remark that the list appears to have been made for practical purposes, and is not either exclusive or consistent. So there appear the quite common forms *αὐ, ὅτι, ερ, ἐστιν, δε, εἰσίν, τα, τας, τες, οὐν, ὡς, εἶναι, διὰ, ἐν, α, γαρ, ναι, τους*; and some that merely disguise their identity with these—*μεν, τᾶν*, with one of two words, *ὑπερ τὰς*. To notice the forms in detail, *νοῦ* and *μοῦ* appear to be lineal descendants of the *Υ* and *Ϛ* of Vat. 1809; at least, no new system seems to be involved. *Ἀλλὰ* occurs, to my knowledge, in Laur. 5, 22, see Vitelli, *Museo Italiano*, i. p. 13, tav. VI. 3 (Prof. Vitelli has corrected his former interpretation of this sign). *Κατὰ* is normal, so are *αὐ* and *ταῦ*:<sup>1</sup> *ἀν* is the older *Λ*, in its usual shape of the fourteenth century; *αὐτοῦ* is the *Ɑ* of the Grotta Ferrata tachygraphs;<sup>2</sup> *ὅτι, καρ, δερ*, call for no remark; *ἦρ*, a form less rare than once supposed,<sup>3</sup> is provided with an enigmatical dot, *ερ* has a pair. As neither of these forms occur in the text of the MS., and *ηρ* is unfound, and *ερ* rare in MSS. of this age, we cannot test the exactness of what we are given here in the table; but it is not difficult to believe that at so late a period, the diacritic dot, inorganic and supplied more or less at will to distinguish nearly identical forms, played a larger part than in earlier centuries when writing was more careful and forms more clearly differentiated. The next signs call for no remark: in *δε* the scribe has omitted the dots that are usual at this period, *εἰς* is the old new-tachygraphical form; in the text, No. III. line 3, as I have noticed above, the writer misuses the symbol, supplying the already represented sigma. *Εἰσιν, τὰ, τὰς, τὲς* are familiar; the former of these and other common syllables, though they do not need any discussion here, are instructive examples of graphical evolution, when compared with the same forms three or four hundred years before. *Ἐπὶ*

<sup>1</sup> *ταῦτι* originally, but the *τι* has been erased. This is not shown clearly in the plate.

<sup>2</sup> As this mode of contracting *αὐτός* is rare, I may mention that it occurs (*αὐτοῦ* and *αὐτόν*)

frequently in the Paris MS. Coislin 387 (s. xi.).

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* it may be found in Coislin 387, Laur. S. Marco 304 (s. xi.), and Laur. 34, 28 (s. xi.).

is of course  $\bar{\jmath}$  of the new-tachygraphy:  $\tau\omicron$  has suffered, possibly from a confusion: the early form is  $\mathfrak{S}$ ;  $\phi\nu$  is blunted down from  $\mathfrak{P}$ ; I do not know if  $\lambda\alpha\iota$  is a simple error, the Grotta Ferrata form is  $\mathfrak{V}$ ;  $\mu\alpha$  has an extra angle added to it, it should be merely  $>$ .  $\epsilon\kappa$  appears twice in the list; the first form is clearly a softening down of the  $\mathfrak{A}$  of the tenth century; of the second form perhaps no certain account can be given. But for the dot beneath one would be inclined to think that in some confusion of mind the scribe had written the sign of  $\epsilon\upsilon$  twice over; but the dot suggests that it was intended to differentiate it from that sign. Possibly in the source from which the list was made up the forms for  $\epsilon\kappa$  may have assumed such different aspects that the compiler thought he recognised two separate symbols. In  $\epsilon\upsilon$  he has apparently run the circumflex and the symbol together: the proper sign is  $\mathfrak{A}^1$ .  $\Upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\ \tau\alpha\varsigma$  is of course two words, and in thinking them worthy of quotation as a single symbol the compiler was not less inconsistent than the authors of modern handbooks, where one finds two words like  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{o}\mu\omicron\upsilon$  exhibited as a single and monstrous compendium;  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  is new-tachygraphic: the sign for  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$  is singularly corrupted, and we can hardly conjecture by what process the scribe evolved it from the  $\mathfrak{J}$  of new-tachygraphy. Possibly the incorporation of the circumflex assisted.  $\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\alpha\nu$  and  $\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  are regular, the last two distorted.  $\mathfrak{A}\varsigma$  is singular, and so much resembles the form for  $\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  that M. Martin quotes from the Ravenna Aristophanes that I am inclined to think the scribe mistook its real meaning;  $\alpha\varsigma$  of course is merely  $\mathfrak{J}$ . The remaining signs are ordinary and little altered. At the bottom another hand has added  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$ , having taken it possibly from the text, where it is frequent.

III. There remains a passage that is perhaps the most tachygraphically interesting of all, but which unfortunately I am only partly able to explain. It is a note, out of connection with the text of the book, that occurs on a blank space on f. 13r., after the index; it is represented in plate No. IX. So far as I can transcribe it, it is as follows:

$\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$  δε τὸν  $\nu\bar{\tau}$   $\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{o}\nu$  ἕως του  $\xi\bar{\delta}$   $\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{o}\nu$  σύν τόνδε (?)  $\tau\alpha\varsigma$   $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\alpha\varsigma$   $\acute{o}\phi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}$ ·  $\delta\iota\alpha\alpha$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$   $\theta\beta\epsilon$   $\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon$   $\nu\alpha$  (?)  $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\upsilon$   $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$   $\sigma\acute{\tau}\omicron\mu\alpha\nu$ ,  $\nu\alpha$   $\sigma\omicron\upsilon$   $\alpha\pi\eta\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\theta\eta$   $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$   $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$   $\beta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\upsilon$ ·  $\acute{\eta}$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$   $\acute{\eta}$   $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ .

$\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi\alpha\iota$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ·  $\eta\mu\epsilon[\rho\alpha]$   $\mathfrak{B}^{\alpha}$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\phi\iota\nu\alpha$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\alpha\tau\alpha$ ·  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\delta\acute{\eta}\pi\lambda\omega\sigma\omicron\nu$   $\tau\omicron$   $\chi\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ ·  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\chi\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$   $\tau\acute{\eta}$ ?  $\delta\epsilon$   $\tau\alpha\varsigma$   $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha$  /  $\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ ·  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\pi\eta\gamma\sigma\omicron\nu$  [?]  $\tau\acute{o}$   $\chi\alpha\rho\tau\eta\nu$   $\xi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}$ ·  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}$   $\pi\alpha\nu$ · /  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\tau\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon$  (?)  $\tau\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$   $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$   $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon$ · (*silk*)  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha$   $\tau\omicron$   $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\kappa\rho\iota\tau\acute{\iota}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  /  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\nu\alpha$   $\theta\alpha\nu\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ·  $\tau\acute{\eta}\delta\epsilon$  [?]  $\tau\acute{\omega}$   $\mathfrak{H}$  [?]  $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\omega$ .

There is a similar but shorter note upon the verso of the same page, but it presents even greater difficulties than the other, and would be quite impossible to represent in print. The two notes appear to be in the hand of the writer of the manuscript, and the frequent occurrence of words for paper,

<sup>1</sup> This rare sign occurs in the scholia to Ven. 201 (a. 951), Ar. Organon.

character, skins, suggests that they may be memoranda or instructions relative to the writing of a certain portion of the Psalter. They appear also to be in vulgar Greek. Perhaps a longer-continued acquaintance with the two documents may enable me to put forth an interpretation of them. In the meantime I leave them to the judgment of the tachygraphical reader

T. W. ALLEN

## THE THEATRE AT MEGALOPOLIS.

IN view of the great interest which has been expressed in the Theatre at Megalopolis, now in course of excavation by members of the British School at Athens, and of its real importance in connection with the question of the Greek Stage, it has been determined to publish, provisionally, a plan and section of it, without waiting for the completion of the work. The excavation will, it is hoped, be finished in the spring: and a full account of our results, with the necessary plans and illustrations, will be published in a future number of this *Journal*. For the present, therefore, a very few words of explanation must suffice.

The following is an explanation of the woodcuts, made from Mr. Loring's drawings:—

## I.—PLAN (Fig. 1).

*AA, BB.*—Supporting walls of the auditorium; which, while partly cut in the hill, is partly also an artificial embankment.

*C, C, C'* represents approximately the summit of the auditorium.

*FFF.*—Tiers of ordinary seats.

*GGG.*—Staircases (*κλίμακες*), dividing the seats of the auditorium into blocks (*κερκίδες*).

*HH.*—Passage, or gangway.

*JJJ.*—Better seats (*θρόνοι*), nine in number; distinguished from the rest by high backs and arms at either end.

*KK.*—Gutter (*ὄχετός*).

*LL.*—Stone kerb, bounding the unpaved orchestra. The exact points at which this kerb terminates at E. and W. are not yet ascertained.

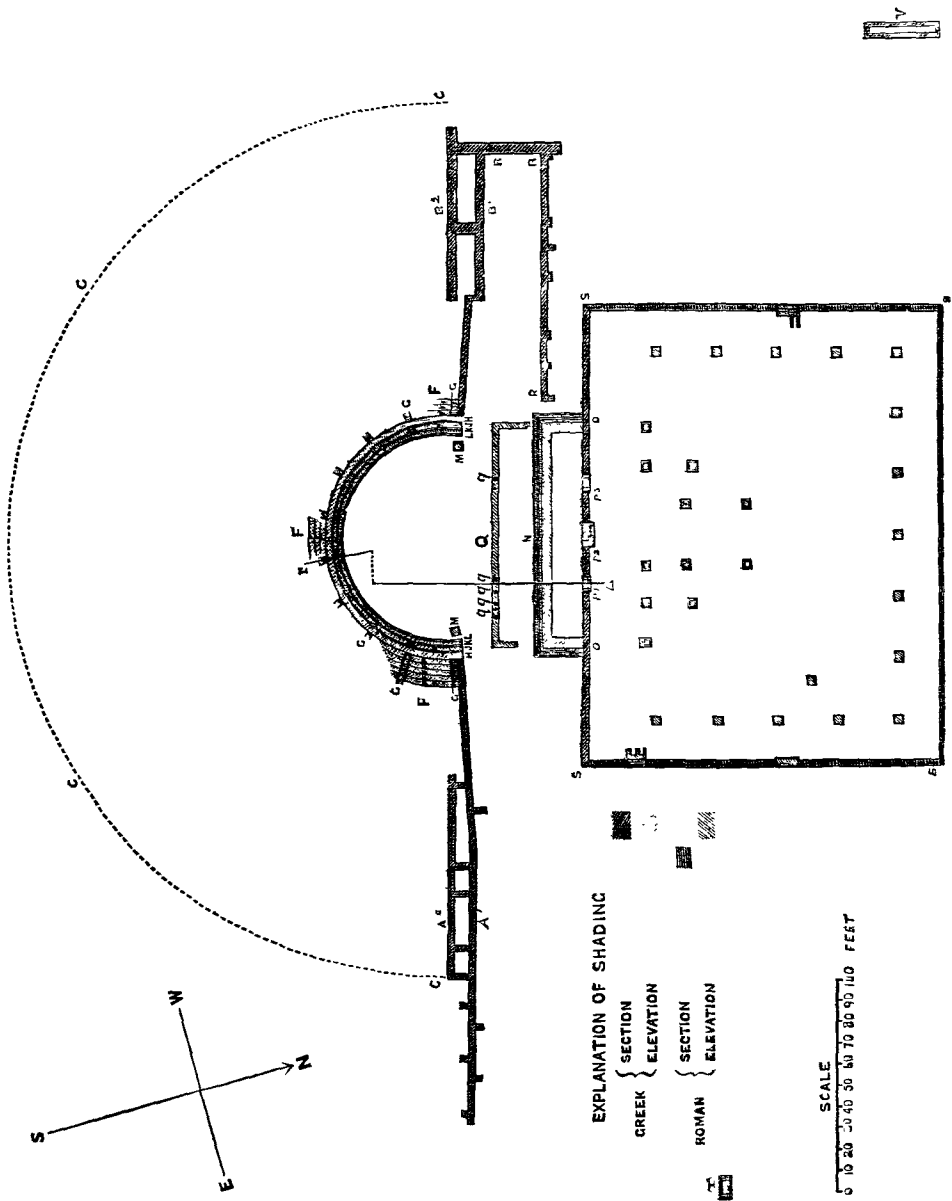
*MM.*—Bases of statues, of Hellenistic or Roman period.

*N.*—Front wall of the Greek stage, faced with steps, continuous from end to end of the stage, and connecting it with the orchestra. The original *height* of the Greek stage above the orchestra was probably 5' 10", its original *breadth* 18' 2".

*O.*—Back wall of ditto, with three entrances *PPP.*

*Q.*—Low wall or stylobate which supported the columned front of the *Roman* stage. Five of the columns (*qqq*), or parts of them, are still *in situ*.

*RRR.*—Conglomerate wall, stuccoed on the inside, and enclosing a space of doubtful purpose. Perhaps it was formerly covered over and used either



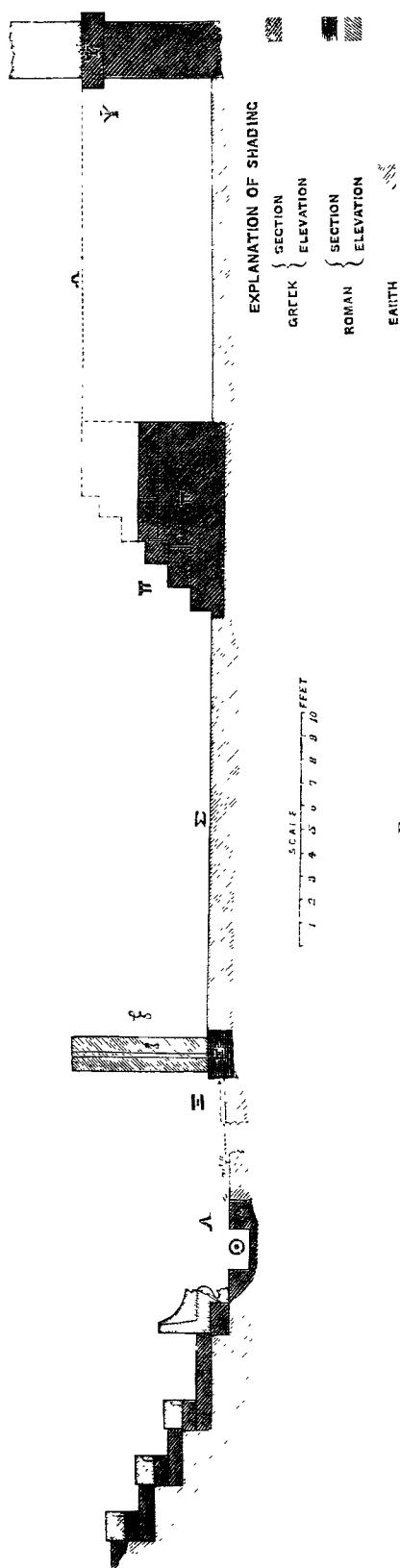


FIG. 2.

as a store-chamber or as a room for the chorus to retire to when their presence was not required in the orchestra.

SSSS. — A large four-sided stoa, such as Vitruvius (V. ix.) requires behind the stage-buildings, to serve, he says, both for the preparations of the chorus and as a shelter during rain. In its present form it is certainly of later date than the theatre, and probably Roman. The various sets of bases in this stoa, which are at four different levels, are not wholly explained at present. Those nearest to the W., N., and E. walls are at the highest level of all, and supported the pillars of the colonnade.

T, V — we suppose to be altars. V, the larger of the two, is built of conglomerate, stuccoed, and adorned with metopes and triglyphs. In the plan, V is shaded as Greek, T as Roman: but this assignment of date, together with some other details in the present plan, is subject to revision.

## II.—SECTION (Fig. 2).

This section is taken through the line  $\Gamma\Delta$ , in the plan; but it should be noted that the figures 71' 4", which are given as indicating the depth of the orchestra from kerb to Roman stage, represent its *extreme* depth, from the *centre* of the one to the *centre* of the other.

Note also that the section is through the *steps* of the auditorium. Thus the steps appear in section, the ends of the seats in elevation, while the *sections* of the seats appear in outline only.

Θ.—Gutter (KK in plan).

Λ.—Kerb of orchestra (LL in plan). Then comes the orchestra itself, where the line, owing to its great length (71' 4"), is necessarily broken off.

Ξ.—Stylobate of Roman stage (*Q* in plan), with a column ξ in elevation.

Π.—Front wall of Greek stage (*N* in plan), with steps. The darker shading indicates what is still *in situ*; the lighter indicates a restoration which, in its main features, is made certain by the height of the threshold Ψ (*P* in plan) behind. Only such joints are given as can be determined with certainty.

Σ.—Probable earth level of the orchestra in Greek times.

Ω.—Probable surface of the Greek stage, which extended from Π to Ψ, and was either a wooden platform or merely a floor of beaten earth.

*Note.*—In the above paragraphs the words ‘Greek’ and ‘Roman’ indicate *period* only. The later of our two stages does not conform in every respect to the Roman *type*.

### III.—THE GREEK STAGE.

The portion of this theatre to which the chief interest attaches is of course the Greek stage, which is of an altogether exceptional character.

A new theory has recently been promulgated by Dr. Dörpfeld and others, with reference to the relative positions of actors and chorus in the Greek Theatre. We are told that there was in theatres of Greek type *no raised stage*, the actors performing on the same level with the chorus, in the orchestra. According to this theory the various ‘Greek’ *proscenia* which have been hitherto discovered (Epidaurus, Oropus, Piraeus, Assos), as well as the *proscenium* described by Vitruvius (V. vii.) as an essential part of ‘Greek’ theatres and expressly declared by him to be a stage, are not stages at all, but ornamental back-walls (*Dekorationswände*) in front of which the actors acted. This theory, sufficiently repugnant both to artistic probability and to the direct evidence of Vitruvius, was tenable, as a paradox, so long as, and only so long as, no ‘Greek’ *proscenium* was discovered which could not be explained away as a ‘*Dekorationswand*.’

Now our *proscenium* at Megalopolis cannot be so explained. It is proved to be a stage both by the *presence* of the three entrances behind it, on a level with its upper surface, and by the *absence* of any entrance *through* it to the orchestra; and we may add that the steps which form the front of our *proscenium*, while they provide a communication between stage and orchestra—the absence of which is one of Dr. Dörpfeld’s main arguments for his novel theory—altogether preclude the notion of a ‘*Dekorationswand*.’

It is clear, then, that this discovery is fatal to the new theory taken as a whole—the theory, that is, that no raised stage existed in the ‘Greek’ theatre of any period. For our stage is proved to be ‘Greek’ at once by its structure, by its position, and by the existence of a separate Roman stage.

But it is of some importance to ascertain at what *period* the stage was erected; for if it could be proved to be of, say, the 2nd or 3rd century B.C., the new theory might still be held in a modified form, *i.e.* with reference not to the later ‘Greek’ theatre, but to that of the 4th and 5th centuries B.C.



The question of date will therefore be considered at more length in a future number of this *Journal*, when a full publication of our results will be given. For the present we must confine ourselves to the statement that we have so far seen no reason for assigning the stage to a later period than the auditorium, which is proved, by an inscription which we have discovered, to be of 4th century construction.

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A NEW PORTION OF THE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN  
FROM MEGALOPOLIS.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE inscription which follows came to light during the excavation undertaken this year, at Megalopolis, by the British School at Athens. It stood outside the house of a peasant, Βασίλειος Πετράκης, whose father had found it, many years previously, in a field upon the ancient site. The existence of the stone was reported first to the Ephor, Mr. Castroménos, who represented the Greek Government at our excavation. Mr. Castroménos courteously announced it to me, and both of us copied it. At that time we had no idea that it formed part of the 'Edict of Diocletian'; this was first suggested to me by Mr. Gardner, Director of the School, on my return to Cambridge. Mr. Castroménos' copy is to appear, as I understand, in the 'Δελτίον.' The text and edition which follow are from my own copy and squeeze.

The Edict of Diocletian and his colleagues, commonly spoken of either by Mommsen's title 'De Pretiis Rerum Venalium' or more briefly as the 'Edict of Diocletian,' is known to us already from a large number of fragments, Greek and Latin, found all (with one exception) in different parts of Greece or Asia Minor, and amounting together to many hundred lines. It is still however far from being complete.

Apart from earlier and necessarily less complete editions (for which v. *Corpus. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. iii. pt. 2, p. 801), all the fragments known up to date were collected, pieced together, and published

(1) by Mommsen in the *Berichte der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. iii. 1851.

(2) by Waddington—first in the section 'Inscriptions Grecques et Latines' of *Le Bas and Waddington's Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*—and secondly in separate form, under the title *Édit de Dioclétien, établissant le Maximum dans l'Empire Romain* (Paris, 1864). The latter publication is a verbatim reprint of the former.

(3) by Mommsen again, in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. iii. pt. 2 (Berlin 1873).

Each of these editions is more complete than the one which preceded it, that in the *Corpus (C.I.L.)* being the most complete of all. Since its publi-

cation, however, a considerable number of fragments have appeared; for a complete list of which I must refer to an article by Mommsen in the first part of the *Hermes* for the current year (1890), p. 17 *sqq.* None of these fragments coincide with ours, with the exception of that numbered '7' in Mommsen's list,—an inscription from Megara, hitherto unpublished, but promised as No. 23 in Dittenberger's forthcoming *Inscriptiones Græciæ septentrionalis*. This fragment coincides, according to Mommsen, with a considerable part of Chap. XVI, in the arrangement adopted by himself and Waddington, but is in so imperfect a condition that it has been found impossible to equate it, line by line, with the version previously known (that from Carystus in Euboea). A portion of this fragment must correspond with our Col. III.; and, imperfect as it is said to be, we shall look forward to its publication with interest. Another fragment, not mentioned by Mommsen, some parts of which may possibly be found to coincide with that from Megalopolis, is one which was discovered this year (1890) by the American School in their excavations at Plataea. This fragment, like that from Megara, is at present unpublished.

Our own fragment is by far the most considerable which has appeared since the publication of the Edict by Mommsen in 1851, both from its extent (255 lines) and from the large proportion of it which is entirely new—how large a proportion, may be seen at a glance by a reference to my cursive edition, in which the parts known already are given in light, the new parts in heavy, type.

The inscription is engraved on a slab of white limestone,  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, and (originally) 2' 11" square, exclusive of a small moulding which runs along the top. The top left-hand corner and the bottom right-hand corner of the slab are broken away.

The inscription is arranged in four columns, and the original number of lines was 85 to a column. In the present state of the stone no column is quite complete; of the second, which is the most nearly complete, 80 lines only are extant, and the first 10 and last 9 of them are very fragmentary. Were the slab complete, however, the inscription would still not be continuous: for both the moulding, which runs along the top of the slab and not along the bottom, and a comparison with other versions of the Edict prove that a lower slab (or slabs, but there is no need for more than one) is missing. Thus, for example, our Col. III. contains a portion of the Edict which is preserved, though very imperfectly, on a slab from Carystus, in Euboea, which it accompanies as far as Col. II. l. 46 (*C.I.L.*) of the Carystian stone. The remainder of the Carystian fragment appears neither on our Col. III. nor on our Col. IV. Unless therefore we suppose a sudden and unaccountable divergence of the two inscriptions at this point, we are led to the conclusion that this portion was engraved on a missing slab of the Megalopolitan version. Again a considerable part of the Carystian *precedes* our Col. III., and yet does not appear on our Col. II.; it must therefore have formed a portion of Col. II. which was engraved on a missing lower slab. In my edition of the text I

have indicated, by notes at the foot of each column, how much of the inscription is missing, and where (if anywhere) the missing portions may be found.

The letters on our slab vary from  $\frac{1}{4}$ " to  $\frac{3}{8}$ " in height. The engraving is careless, as the date of the Edict (A.D. 301) might lead us to expect,—and very shallow, but the lines are fairly horizontal and evenly distributed, the number in each column agreeing exactly. The first 25 lines of Col. I. being absent, the following equation will enable the exact position of any line of the inscription to be determined :

$$\text{Col. I. l. 1} = \text{Col. II., III., IV. l. 26.}$$

One peculiarity in the engraving deserves special notice. The stone, before it received the inscription, was extremely rough. In some places the surface was damaged, in others yellowish veins stuck up and marred its evenness; and in many cases the irregularity was so great that it was impossible to engrave at all, and gaps have been left, often occurring in the middle of a word. This added considerably to the difficulty of deciphering the inscription, as it was not always easy to determine where letters were missing and where they were not, or how many letters were to be supplied. A good example of this is Col. II. ll. 56—58, where the gaps in the inscription, added to the indistinctness of the letters themselves, made the entry for a long time unintelligible.

For an introduction to the Edict itself, I must refer to the preliminary chapter in Waddington's edition; but the following summary, which is based upon it, may be found useful :—

(1) The date of the Edict is fixed, by the number of consulships and tenures of the 'tribunicia potestas' assigned to its promulgators, to the last quarter (after Sept. 17) of the year 301 A.D.

(2) In form it is an 'Edictum ad Provinciales'—the provincials being addressed by the Emperors and Caesars *directly*, and not through the magistrates. Thus the preamble begins with the names and titles of the two Emperors, Diocletian and Maximian, and of the two 'Caesars,' Constantius Chlorus and Galerius—followed by the word 'dicunt' (the more usual form in edicts of this class is 'provincialibus salutem dicunt'). Thus also the words 'provinciales nostri' (voc.) occur in the course of the preamble.

(3) The Edict is for the *whole Empire*. The preamble says :—

' . . . maxime cum ejusmodi statuto non civitatibus singulis ac populis adque provinciis, sed *universo orbi* provisum esse videatur.'

Both Mommsen and Waddington consider that it was practically operative only in the Greek and Oriental provinces which were under the immediate rule of Diocletian; but I doubt whether there is sufficient ground for this opinion. It is true that a large number of the articles mentioned are Oriental, but a very large number also are from the West—*e.g.* nearly all the woollen garments, and the wool itself, of our Cols. III. and IV. It is true also that all the copies hitherto discovered have been discovered in the Eastern provinces; but this only proves that excavation has been busier in the East than in the West.

(4) The sums named are not fixed prices, but *maximum* prices; *v.* preamble, 'non *prætia* venalium rerum, sed *modum* statuendum [es]e censuimus.'

(5) Wilful disobedience of the Edict was punishable by death or deportation—'placet, ut, siquis contra formam statuti hujus conixus fuerit audentia, capitali periculo subj[u]getur.'

(6) The *result* of the Edict is mentioned by the contemporary Lactantius, *de Mortibus Persecutorum*, chap. vii.—'Tunc ob exigua et vilia multus sanguis effusus, nec venale quidquam metu apparebat et caritas multo deterius exarsit, donec lex necessitate ipsa post multorum exitium solveretur.'

(7) The prices are reckoned in 'denarii,' represented by the symbols ✕ (*e.g.* in *Car.* and *Meg.*), ✖ (in *Ger.*), and in Latin sometimes by Ø.

The 'denarius' in question is not the silver denarius with which we are familiar, but a copper coin of the later empire. Its value has, until quite recently, been matter of the greatest doubt. Both Mommsen and Waddington agreed in *provisionally* equating it, so far as its value relatively to the gold coin ('aureus' or 'solidus') is concerned, with the 'follis' of Constantine; but the value of the 'follis' itself was uncertain, Mommsen placing it at  $\frac{1}{144}$ , Waddington at  $\frac{1}{88}$  of the 'solidus.' With regard to the latter point it now appears that Waddington was right; but both he and Mommsen were wrong in their equation of the 'denarius' with the 'follis.' The 'denarius' of Diocletian was a very much smaller coin than either of them supposed.

The document which has finally settled this question is a fragment of the Edict discovered at Elatea (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1885, p. 222 *sqq.*). Under the heading, Περὶ χρυσοῦ it contains the entry—

Χρυσοῦ βρύζης ἐν ῥη[γ]λίαις ἢ ἐν ὀλοκοττίνοις λ.α' ✕εμ<ύρια>

*i.e.* '1 lb. of fine gold, in bar or in specie, 50,000 denarii': which, as Mommsen points out in the article above referred to (*Hermes*, 1890, p. 17 *sqq.*), implies that the value of the denarius was  $\frac{1}{50000}$  of the value of a Roman pound of gold. Then, reckoning the pound of gold at its present value—viz. 913.59 Marks—Mommsen obtains, as the equivalent of the 'denarius,'  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Pf.—more exactly 1.827 Pf.—or about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of an English penny. This determination of Mommsen's must, I suppose, be taken as final. Only it must be remembered, that to translate the 'denarius' into modern *copper* is somewhat misleading; for it obscures the point on which alone the prices quoted in the Edict can instruct us—viz. not the relative value of *copper* and of commodities (copper money being then, as now, mere token money), but the relative value of *gold* and of commodities. This relative value was, it now appears, extremely high,—*i.e.* either gold was dear or commodities were cheap. The prices for coats and cloaks indeed (Col. III.) are high enough; but 2 denarii a mile for portage (II. 17, 18), 4 denarii for a spade (I. 41) or fork (I. 43), and the prices assigned to fodder of various kinds (II. 29-31), are such ridiculously small sums that one feels inclined to decide for the former rather than the latter alternative, *i.e.* if commodities were cheap, it is at least equally

certain that gold was dear. The *absolute* value of (*i.e.* the difficulty of obtaining) commodities remains uncertain.

In these circumstances the interest of the inscription centres

(a) In the commodities themselves—their names, the materials of which they were made, and the knowledge to be obtained of them by a comparison with evidence from other sources.

(b) In the local epithets, which tell us of the countries from which these commodities were exported; and, in this connexion, the Βίρος Βρεταννικὸς of III. 2 has a special interest for English readers.

(c) In the *relative* prices of the objects specified.

(8) The only weights and measures which occur in our portion of the inscription are the *pound* [λείτρα (more commonly spelt λίτρα), = Lat. 'libra' symbol  $\pi$ .]—the *ounce* [ὀγκία or οὐγκία, = Lat. 'uncia': symbol  $\Gamma\omicron$  (v. note on III. 38)]—the '*modius*' [μόδιος]—and the *mile* [μείλιον].

The Roman pound = *c.* 0.72 of the English pound Avoirdupois; the ounce is  $\frac{1}{12}$  of the Roman pound, and is therefore almost exactly an English ounce; the '*modius*' is approximately an English peck; and the mile 1618 English yards.<sup>1</sup>

(9) Evidently there was no authorized Greek version of the Edict. This is proved by variations in the wording of different copies, by the insertion of headings in some which are absent in others, and by some curious mistranslations. Waddington's remarks on this subject are amply borne out by the Megalopolitan fragment. With regard to headings, note especially our heading Περὶ Λαυαρίων (III. 55), which occurs neither in the Carystian nor in the Theban version. An example of mistranslation occurs in I. 11 ἀπὸ βίτου (where see note): but the mistake is not peculiar to our stone. On the whole the author of the Megalopolitan version has avoided mistranslation by a free use of transcription. *Mistranscription* is very frequent: *e.g.* πωμέντου (II. 42) is a transcription of 'tomenti,' γλεύδια (I. 39) probably of 'glūbia,' δηλάβρα (I. 40) of 'dolabra.'

In editing the text of the new fragment, I have been careful to equate it with other versions (those from Geronthrae, Carystus, and Thebes) wherever these coincide with ours; giving them credit, by the adoption of a different kind of type, for every letter which they have correctly, and adding a complete collation in the notes. This was no easy matter where—as in the first 33 lines of Col. III.—a few letters only of the earlier versions were extant, and the number of lines (but not necessarily the number of entries) differed from the number on our stone; and where Lenormant's copy differed, even in number of lines, from Köhler's later and far better copy of the same stone. The collation possesses, however, very great interest, first because it proves the general agreement between the different versions of the Edict, and secondly because it brings out clearly the points in which our fragment supplements or corrects those previously known, or *vice versâ*. I am bound to add that in

<sup>1</sup> Gow: *Companion to School Classics*.

almost every case the Megalopolitan version has proved both completer and more correct than the rest.

In order to fit each column of our inscription into its proper place among the other fragments, I have placed in the margin of my *copy* indications of the stone or stones with which each portion coincides, and in the margin of my *edition* indications of those parts of Waddington's (Wadd.) and of Mommsen's (*C.I.L.*) editions of the entire Edict with which they are to be equated, or between which they are to be inserted. Lastly, in order to knit all together, I give here in tabular form a list of the different parts of Wadd., *C.I.L.* and *Meg.* (= Megalopolitan fragment), in the order in which they must be read so as to make this portion of the Edict as nearly continuous as possible:—

- (1) Wadd. or *C.I.L.* XV. 1—22 and *Meg.* I. 1—8.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) Wadd. or *C.I.L.* XV. 23—42 = *Meg.* I. 9—48.
- (3) *Meg.* I. 49—60.
- (4) Portion missing—lower slab of *Meg.*
- (5) *Meg.* II.
- (6) 5 lines and the lower slab missing. But the bottom part of this lower slab corresponded to
- (7) Wadd. XVI. 1—18 or *C.I.L.* XVI. 1—20.
- (8) Wadd. XVI. 19—66 or 67 } = *Meg.* III.  
or *C.I.L.* XVI. 21—56 }
- (9) Wadd. XVI. 67 or 68—101 or *C.I.L.* XVI. 57—100.
- (10) Portion missing.<sup>2</sup>
- (11) *Meg.* IV.
- (12) Small portion missing.
- (13) Wadd. or *C.I.L.* XVII.—end.<sup>3</sup>

In Chap. XV. (our Col. I.) the readings of Wadd. and of *C.I.L.* are practically identical; but for Chap. XVI. (our Col. III.) *C.I.L.*, rather than Wadd., should be used, Lenormant's copy, which Waddington followed, being wholly untrustworthy (cf. introductory note on Col. III.). Waddington's *notes*, however, should be consulted throughout.

In my commentary, the following are the works to which I am most indebted:—

<sup>1</sup> These must be added together; they cannot be equated; for the few letters which remain in *Meg.* do not correspond to the readings of the Geronthraean stone (Wadd. and *C.I.L.*), while they evidently form part of the same, or a similar, section. This implies either an omission on one of the two stones, or a slight difference of arrangement between them.

<sup>2</sup> The missing portion of Col. III. on the slab at Megalopolis is 21 lines; and the lower slab (entirely absent) perhaps contained, like the

upper, 85 lines. 21+85=106. From this total subtract 60 lines of the Carystian stone [our portion (9)]. This leaves 46 lines as the probable amount missing both from the Carystian stone and from our own.

<sup>3</sup> This portion is far from being continuous. *C.I.L.* has more than Wadd.; and *C.I.L.* may be supplemented by various fragments more recently discovered, by far the most important of which is that from Elatea (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1885, p. 222 sqq.).

(1) Waddington, *Édit de Dioclétien* (Paris, 1864). I have borrowed from, or referred to, his notes continually; in some cases I venture to hope that I have added something to them, where the new fragment throws light on words previously obscure. For my comment on the many new words which occur in our portion of the Edict I of course am solely responsible.

(2) Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*; and the corresponding Greek glossary. (Forcellinus has also proved useful, besides the ordinary books of reference which it is needless to enumerate.)

(3) Of ancient authors, Pliny the elder has been of the greatest assistance; our inscription is continually illustrated by passages in the *Historia Naturalis*; and I owe a special debt to the invaluable Index which fills the last two volumes of Sillig's edition of that work.

It remains only to add an explanation of the abbreviations, and other signs, which I have employed.

I. In the *copy*, shading |||/|/|/|/| represents breaks or irregularities in the stone—wherever either letters are lost or, owing to the irregularity, a gap was intentionally left.

Dotted letters (*e.g.* ⚭, ⚭) represent doubtful letters on the stone.

II. In the *édition* :—

Square brackets [ ] shew corrections or restorations.

Round brackets ( ) shew doubtful letters.

Angle brackets < > shew the completion of words abbreviated either intentionally or otherwise.

Heavy type indicates portions which are new (*i.e.* not already known from other sources).

Thin type, portions which are old.

In the case of words of which the component letters are partly old and partly new—where the *word* is new (*i.e.* neither an old word newly spelt, nor the completion of a word previously conjectured)—I have appended to it an asterisk (\*) in heavy type.

The marks §§, §, and the numbers (1), (2), (3), are introduced mainly to clear up the classification at the end of Col. IV.

At the end of each entry I have added the number of 'denarii' in Arabic numerals.

III. In the *commentary* :—

*Ger.* = stone from Geronthrae in Laconia ('*Tabula Geronthraea Secunda*,' *C.I.L.* Vol. III. Pt. 2, p. 817, or Le Bas and Waddington, '*Voyage Archéologique*,' etc., section '*Inscriptions Grecques et Latines*,' vol. II. p. 43).

*Car.* = stone from Carystus in Euboea ('*Fragmentum Carystium Prius*,' *C.I.L.* vol. III. pt. 2, p. 821, or Wadd. *Édit de Dioclétien*, pp. 43, 44).

*Theb.* = stone from Thebes ('*Exemplum Thebanum*,' *C.I.L.* vol. III. pt. 2, p. 823).

*Meg.* = our own stone at Megalopolis.

Wadd. = Waddington, *Édit de Dioclétien*, Paris, 1864.

*C.I.L.* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. III. pt. 2, Berlin, 1873





	COL. I.	Denarii.	
	. . . . . [✱](ν')	50	1-8 New. (Cf.
	. . . . . [✱](μ')	40	Wadd. and
	. . . . . ✱κ'	20	C.I.L. XV. 1-22.)
	. . . . . ✱ο	70	
5	. . . . . ✱ψν'	750	
	. . . . . ✱ό'	70	
	. . . . . ξου δ' ὀχήμ<ατος>? ✱λ	30	
	. . . . . (ν) τροχοῦ καβάρικοῦ ✱λς'	36	
§§. Περὶ ὀχημά(τ)ων			9-48 = Wadd. and C.I.L. XV 23-42.
10	Σαράγαρο]ν κάλλιστον τοὺς τρο- [χοὺς ἔχον] ἀπὸ* βίτου* χωρὶς σιδή- [ρ]ου ✱,ς'	6,000	
	Σαράγαρον ἀψειδωτοὺς ἔχον τοὺς τροχοὺς χωρὶς σιδήρου ✱(,γ)φ'	3,500	
15	Ῥαῖδα ἀψειδωτοὺς ἔχουσα τοὺς τροχοὺς χωρὶς σιδήρου ✱,γ'	3,000	
	Δορμειώριον ἔχον τοὺς τρο- [χ]οὺς βι(τ)ωτοὺς* χωρὶς σιδήρ<ου> ✱ζφ'	7,500	
	Δορμειώριον ἔχον τοὺς τροχοὺς ἀψειδωτοὺς χωρὶς σιδήρου ✱,δ	4,000	
20	Σαράγατα βιτωτὰ* καὶ ὀχήματα τὰ λοιπὰ μετὰ τῶν κανθῶν καὶ τοῦ σιδήρου, λόγου* γενομένου		
25	τοῦ σιδήρου πιπράσκεσθαι ὀφεί- λουσιν Καροῦχον βιτωτὸν χωρὶς σιδήρ<ου> ✱,ζ'	7,000	
§§. Περὶ κάρρων			
30	Κάρρον τετράτροχον μετὰ ζυγοῦ χωρὶς σιδήρου ✱,αφ'	1,500	
	Κάρρος σεσιδηρωμένος ὑπὲρ τοῦ* ξυλικοῦ* καὶ τοῦ σιδήρου λόγου* γενομένου οὕτως ὀφείλει πι- πράσκεσθαι		
35	Ἀμαξα δίτροχος μετὰ ζυγοῦ χωρὶς σιδήρου ✱ω	800	

	ΤΡΙΒΟΛΟΣΞΥΛΙΝΟΣ	*C
	ΑΡΟΤΡΟΝΜΕΤΑΖΥΓΟΥ	*P
	ΠΑΥΓΛΑΗΤΟΙΓΛΕΥΔΙΑ	*P
40	ΔΗΛΑΒΡΑΗΤΟΙΠΤΟΙΟΝ	*IB
	ΠΑΛΑ	*Δ
	ΘΡΕΙΝΑΞ	*H
	ΤΥΡΧΗΔΙΟΔΟΥCΞΥΛΙΝΗ	*Δ
	CΚΑΦΗΠΕΝΤΑΜΟΔΙΑΙΑ	*PN
45	ΜΟΔΙΟCΞΥΛΙΝΟC	*N
	ΜΟΔΙΟCΣΙΔΗΡΕΝΔΕΤΟC	*OE
	ΚΑΒΑΘΑΗΤΟΙΚΑΜΗΛΑCΗΜΟΔΙΑΙΑ	
	ΓΕΓΕΝΗΜΕΝΗΤΕΤΟΡΝΕΥΜΕΝΗ	*Λ
49-50 New.	ΜΥΛΟCΚΑΒΑΛΛΑΡΙΚΟCΕΝΛΙΘΟΙC	*ΑΦ
50	ΜΥΛΟCΟΝΙΚΟC	*ΑCΝ
	ΜΥΛΟCΥΔΡΑΛΕΤΙΚΟC	*B
	ΧΕΙΡΟΜΥΛΟC	*CΝ
	ΠΕΡΙΚΟCΚΙΝΩΝ	
	ΚΟCΚΙΝΟΝΑΛΩΝΙΚΟΝΑΠΟΒΥΡCΗC	*CΝ
55	ΟCΚΙΝΟΝΑΠΟΔΕΡΜΑΤΟCΣΙΜΙΔΑΑΙΑ	
		*Υ
	ΙΝΟΝΠΛΕΚΤΟΝ////////ΜΕΓΑ	*C
	ΟΝΠΛΕΚΤΟΝΙΔΙΩΤΙΚΟΝ	
	ΩΡΙΑΝ	
60	Ν////////ΠΛΕΚΤΟΝ	

(The lower slab—perhaps 85 lines, like the upper—is missing.)

## COL. I.

Lines 1-8.—These lines, which are new, are too fragmentary for restoration. Apparently they belonged to a section dealing with the *parts* of carriages and carts. Such a section, in the Geronthraean fragment (*v.* Introduction), which contains our lines 9-48, occurs in precisely this position, *viz.* immediately before the section *Περὶ ὀχημάτων*. It is headed *Περὶ ξύλων τῶν ἐς τὰ ὀχήματα*, but no part of it agrees with ours. There must therefore have been either a difference of arrangement between the Geronthraean version and our own, or an omission in one or the other of them.

Lines 9-48.—This portion of our inscription coincides with part of the fragment referred to in the preceding note, from Geronthrae in Laconia. The fragment in question was copied by Le Bas, and edited (from Le Bas' copy, supplemented by squeezes) (*a*) by Waddington (*Édit de Dioclétien*, 1864); (*b*) by Mommsen (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. III. part 2, 1873). The two editions of the stone from Geronthrae agree perfectly (at any rate in the portions which concern us), except that in some places one editor deciphered a letter or two *more* than the other on his squeeze; in these cases I have given.

			Denarii.	
	Τρίβολος ξύλινος	✕σ'	200	
	Αροτρον μετὰ ζυγοῦ*	✕ρ'	100	
	Παύγα ἥτοι γλεύδια	✕ρ'	100	
40	Δηλάβρα ἥτοι πτοῖον	✕ιβ'	12	
	Πάλα	✕δ'	4	
	Θρεῖναξ	✕η'	8	
	Τύρχη διόδους* ξυλίνη*	✕δ'*	4	
	Σκάφη πενταμοδιαία*	✕ρν'*	150	
45	Μόδιος ξύλινος	✕ν'	50	
	Μόδιος σιδηρηνδετός	✕οε'	75	
	Κάβαθα ἥτοι κάμηλα* σημοδιαία			
	γεγεννημένη τετορνευμένη	✕λ'	30	
	Μύλος καβαλλαρικὸς ἐν λίθοις	✕αφ'	1,500	
50	Μύλος ὀνικὸς	✕,ασν'	1,250	
	Μύλος ὑδραλεκτικός	✕,β'	2,000	
	Χειρόμυλος	✕σν'	250	
§§. Περὶ κοσκίνων				
	Κόσκινον ἁλωνικὸν ἀπὸ βύρσης	✕σν'	250	
55	Κ]όσκινον ἀπὸ δέρματος σμιδα(λι)α			
	. . . .	✕ν'	400	
	Κόσκινον πλεκτὸν μέγα	✕σ'	200	
	Κόσκιν]ον πλεκτὸν ἰδιωτικὸν . . . .			
	. . . . ω(ρι)αν . . . .			
60	Κόσκιν]ον πλεκτὸν . . . .			

49-60 New.  
Comes between  
XV. and XVI.  
of Wadd. and  
C.I.L.

(The missing portion is supplied by no other fragment.)

in my collation, the *fuller* reading; occasionally I have given both, distinguishing them by the abbreviations (Wadd.) and (C.I.L.) respectively. From the proportion of heavy type to light in my transcript of lines 9-48, and from the notes, it will be seen that the Megalopolitan version (*Meg.*) is both completer and more correct than the Geronthraean (*Ger.*).

Line 9.—*Ger.* Περὶ [δ] χ[ημά]των,—thus supplementing ours. Under the heading **ὀχήματα** are included travelling and pleasure carriages, &c.; under the heading **κάρρα**, carts and waggons for agricultural purposes (Wadd.). This meaning of the word **κάρρον** corresponds roughly to that of **κάδο** in modern Greek; but the modern **κάρρο** is a cart rather than a waggon.

Lines 10-12.—*Ger.* [Σαρ]ά[γ]α[ρ]ο[ν] τ[ρ]οχ[ο]ὺς ἔχον ἀορβιτοὺς χωρὶς σιδήρου ✕,γ—but the final *s* in the extraordinary word **ΑΟΡΒΙΤΟΥΣ** appears, from the diminutive size given to it in the *copies*, to have been doubtful. Thus, though the *reading* is completely altered, only two letters in *Ger.* (OP for ΠΟ) are different from those of *Meg.*

**Σαράγαρον**.—Wadd. says this word probably = Lat. 'sarracum'; but 'sarracum' is a heavy waggon of some sort (v. *e.g.*, Juv. III. 254, 5 'Modo longa coruscant Sarraco veniente

abies' etc.), while *σαράγαρον*, from its position, must be some kind of pleasure conveyance. I suggest therefore that *σαράγαρον* is a corruption, not of 'sarracum,' a waggon, but of 'sarraclum,' a waggonette. This would at once account for the *ρ*, otherwise inexplicable, and give us the sort of meaning we require. The word 'sarraclum' occurs once (Ammianus xxi. 2, 18, quoted in Forcellinus), but has been corrected to 'sarracum' for want of the confirmatory evidence which our inscription supplies. Wadd. says 'Il y avait des *σαράγαρα* à deux et à quatre roues'; but this remark is based on l. 22 *σαράγαρα βίρωτα* (bi-*rota*), where however we dispute the reading *βίρωτα*, so that the evidence for the two-wheeled *σαράγαρον* falls through.

*ἀορβιτός* is explained by Wadd. (after Mommsen) as a hybrid word, formed from the Latin 'orbis' with the Greek negative prefix, and meaning 'non in orbem flexus,' so that the *τροχὸς ἀορβιτός* would be the mere pieces of wood *destined* to form a wheel. He restores the word also in l. 18, and is followed by Mommsen in the *Corpus* (C.I.L.), though from their *copies* it appears that the reading of the stone (if they read it correctly) was *βιρωτός*.

Now, even if the reading *ἀορβιτός* in ll. 11 and 18 were correct, the explanation given of the word would be open to two objections: (1) no instance of a *hybrid* word occurs in the inscription; Latin words are either translated into Greek, or transcribed in Greek characters and provided with Greek terminations; (2) the *δομειώριον* with the *τροχὸς ἀορβιτός* costs *more* than that with the *τροχὸς ἀψειδωτός*—a *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory that the former is incomplete, the latter complete. But as a matter of fact *ἀορβιτός*(s) in l. 11 must be an engraver's error for *ἀπὸ βίρου*, which he did not understand, and in l. 18 it is a mere conjecture of the editors for *βιρωτός*, which *they* did not understand (the epithet 'bi-rotus' being obviously inapplicable to a wheel); the real reading in l. 18 was probably *βιρωτός*, as in *Meg.*

Now let us turn to our own readings, *ἀπὸ βίρου* in l. 11, and *βιρωτός* in l. 18. In the first place they are equivalent, for both alike are opposed to *ἀψειδωτός* in the entries which follow them (ll. 13 and 20 respectively). Now *βίρος* must be the Latin 'vitus,' an obscure word, for which however there is sufficient evidence (*v.* Forcellinus, *s.v.*). (1) It occurs in Probus, *Instituta Artium* (p. 116, 22, Keil), where it appears as a feminine word making abl. sing. 'vitu,' dat. and abl. plur. 'vitibus,' not 'vitubus,' but distinguished from abl. plur. of 'vitis' by a difference of accentuation. (2) It occurs in Marius Victorinus, *Arts Grammatica* (p. 56, 17, Keil), where 'vitus' ('viti in rotis') is given as a derivative from 'viere' (to bend, plait), whence 'vimen' &c. Here Keil suspects 'viti in rotis' and substitutes 'vietores'; but the MS. reading is borne out by our inscription, which makes 'vitus' a part of a wheel. (3) In the *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* (ed. Goetz), Vol. II. p. 334, are the entries '*ἴρως*, vitus' (al. virus) and '*καρθὸς τροχοῦ*, urus'—the latter of which, or else some similar gloss, was corrected by Scaliger (*Ep.* 333) to 'vitus' on the authority of Victorinus. Thus, apart from our inscription, the evidence for 'vitus,' as *part of a wheel*, rests only (1) on Victorinus, and (2) on the former of the above glosses; and in each case the reading has, for want of confirmatory evidence, been hitherto disputed. Scaliger follows Victorinus in deriving 'vitus' from 'viere'; but it is more probably identical with the Greek *ἴρως*, the *v* representing a lost digamma.

The conclusion, then, is that 'vitus' (*βίρος* in our inscription) = *ἴρως*, the fellow, or periphery, of a wheel. But *ἀψις* also commonly = the fellow of a wheel. How 'vitus' differed from 'apsis' (*ἀψις*), and the *τροχὸς βιρωτός* from the *τροχὸς ἀψειδωτός*, is not clear. Possibly the *τροχὸς ἀψειδωτός* was a solid (spokeless) wheel; for such wheels were certainly used in ancient times, and *ἀψις* (from *ἀπρω*) may, and often does, mean a *disc* as well as a *circle* or *arc*. *ἴρως*, on the other hand, means nothing but a *rim*, and implies a periphery, with spokes, as in modern wheels. This suggestion, which is little more than conjecture, at least accounts for the difference in price between the two.

Lastly, the question occurs, How did the reading *ἀπὸ βίρου* in l. 11, as equivalent to *βιρωτός*, arise? Possibly some engraver with the Latin 'vitutus,' or some such word, before him, supposed the epithet to be one expressing *material*; and the mistake which thus arose has been perpetuated. By the time he reached l. 18 he had seen the word *ἀψειδωτός*, which opened his eyes, and prevented him from repeating the mistake.

Our price  $\text{X}, \varsigma$  is an improvement on *Ger.*'s  $\text{Y}, \gamma$ , which made the *τροχὸς βιωτὸς* in the case of the *σπατάριον* less expensive than the *τροχὸς ἀψευδωτὸς*, while in the case of the *δορμειώριον* it is *more* expensive.

Lines **13, 14.**—ἀψιδωτοῦς.—*Ger.* ἀψιδωτοῦς. ,T in *Meg.* is probably a mere slip of the chisel for Γ, which is the reading of *Ger.*

Lines 15, 16.—ἀψιδωτοὺς, τροχοῦς.—*Ger.* ἀψιδωτοὺς, τροχο[ύς]. 'Παῖδα = Lat. 'raeda' or 'reda,' a four-wheeled travelling-carriage. It must have been extremely light, if one may believe Suetonius' statement about Caesar—that he travelled, in a hired 'reda,' at the rate of a hundred (Roman) miles a day (Suet. *Caesar*, 57).

Lines 17, 18.—*δορμιτώριον, τρο[χ]οὺς, σιδήρ<ον>, ✕ιβφ.*—*Ger.* *δορμιτώριον, τροχοὺς, σιδήρον, ✕ιβφ. βιτωροῦς.*—*Ger.* [*do*]ρ[βι]τοῦς; but this is a conjectural restoration of the editors, very much farther from the truth than the reading of their stone, which, if they copied it correctly, was ΒΙΡΩΤΟΥΣ. The epithet *βίρωτος* ('bi-rotus') is of course inapplicable to a wheel; and *βιτωροῦς*, which is probably the true reading of *Ger.*, as of *Meg.*, was an unknown word and naturally did not occur to them.

**Δορμειτόριον** ('dormitorium') is of course a sleeping-carriage—not a litter, however, for it had wheels. The following passage, which is quoted both by Forcellinus and Du Cange, includes several of the **ὄχηματα** ('vehicula') of our list. It is part of St. Jerome's commentary on Isaiah lvi. 20; he enumerates the different vehicles, &c., in which it is said the people shall be brought to Jerusalem as an offering to the Lord, 'Equos et quadrigas, et *rhedas* et lecticas, sive basternas, et *dormitoria*, mulosque et mulas, et *carrucas*, et diversi generis vehicula.' The distinction here made between 'dormitoria' and 'lecticae sive basternae' seems at first sight to bear out the meaning ('carriage' not 'litter') in our inscription; but it must be admitted that later on St. Jerome appears to use 'basternae' and 'dormitoria' indifferently.

Lines 19-21.--Ger. Δορμιτώριον ἔχον τ[οὺς τ]ροχοὺς ἀψιδω[τοὺς χω]ρὶς σιδήρου Υ,β.

Lines 22-26.—βιτωτά.—*Ger.* βίρωτα.

καὶ τοῦ σιδήρου, λόγῳ γενομένου τοῦ σιδήρου.—*Ger.* καὶ τοῦ σιδήρου δὲ τοῦ γιγνομένου. But *Ger.*'s τοῦ σιδήρου τοῦ γιγνομένου is meaningless, and the καὶ . . . δὲ is rather absurd. Our reading λόγῳ for δὲ τοῦ, and the repetition of τοῦ σιδήρου, makes all clear. As to our reading βιωτά, the third letter is not absolutely clear; but it can hardly be anything but a Τ, and is certainly not a Ρ. Moreover the reading Τ brings this line into accord with ll. 10—12, with which it corresponds. Five kinds of vehicles (σαράγαρα and δορμειῳάρια, with wheels βιωτοὶ and ἀφειδωτοί, and ράιδαι of the latter kind) have been mentioned, and their prices, *without the iron*, have been given. The present entry provides for the case in which the *same* vehicles are sold *with* the iron. Instead of a repetition of the whole list, the *first* of the five (σαράγαρα βιωτά, a shortened form of σαράγαρα βιωτοὺς ἔχοντα τοὺς τροχοίς) is repeated, with the addition καὶ ὀχήματα τὰ λοιπὰ, which exactly = 'κ.τ.λ.' or '&c.' The reading βίρωτα, given by Wadd. and *C.I.L.* as that of *Ger.* alters the whole drift of the passage, by introducing a *new kind* of vehicle, which is supposed to be sold *always with the iron*. Probably *Ger.*, like *Meg.*, really reads βιωτά, but the word, being unknown, was not recognized, and Τ is easily mistaken for Ρ.

Note that the reading *σιτωρὰ* destroys the evidence for the two-wheeled *σπαράγαρον*; cf. note on *σπαράγαρον*, l. 10.

καυθῶν, here 'tiers'—not the wooden periphery, which we have had already.

Line 27.—Καροῦχον βιωτόν.—*Ger.* καροῦχα βιγῆατα. The numeral ,ξ' is absent from *Ger.*

Καρῶχα (= carruca) is of course more correct than καρῶχον: but in this inscription genders are treated with great contempt. Thus, κάρρος and κάρρον are used indifferently (I. 29, 31), πλοῦμος (II. 32) = Lat. pluma, τρίβολος (I. 37) = Lat. tribulum. The last however is not peculiar to our inscription.

'Carruca' in Latin appears to have been a high and pompous carriage of some kind; this at least is the impression given by some of the passages quoted by Du Cange: 'Senatores prosequabantur carrucis nutantibus' (Paulinus, *Epist.* 10 *ad Severum*), and

'alii summum decus in carrucis solito altioribus ponentes' (*Cod. Theodor. et Justin.*). Note that the 'carruca' always has its wheels *βιτωροί*, and is, with one exception (the *δορμειτώριον βιτωρόν*), the most expensive vehicle in the list.

*βιτωρόν*.—Though our reading *βιτωρόν* is quite clear, it is *conceivable* that it is an error for *βιγάτον*, the engraver not understanding *βιγάτον*, and therefore substituting *βιτωρόν*, a word which he had had already. On the other hand 'bigatus' is an improbable word as an epithet of a carriage. No instance of such a use occurs. The proper epithet would be 'bijugus'; 'bigatus' having a totally different meaning, viz. 'with a *biga* on it,' e.g. 'bigatus nummus.' Note also that in Le Bas' copy all we have is ΠΙΤΤΑ, which is meaningless; and Wadd. can only say that ΒΙΓΑΤΑ on his squeeze is 'assez claire,' and that he is quite sure it is not ΒΙΡΩΤΑ. ΒΙΤΩΤΑ did not occur to him as a possible alternative. The conclusion of all this is that *Mey.*'s reading *βιτωρόν* is the right one, and that *βιτωρά* should take the place of *βιγάτα* in *Ger.*

Line 28.—Περὶ κάρρων.

κάρρων.—*Ger.* κάρων; but Le Bas' copy has ΚΑΡΙ////, which, combined with ΚΑΡΙΝ in l. 29, and ΚΑΡΙΟΝ in l. 31, looks as if the real reading of the stone were ΚΑΡΡΟΝ, double ρ, as in *Meg.*

κάρρων in this heading appears to be a generic term for agricultural carts, including the specific κάρρον and ἄμαξα, which are four-wheeled and two-wheeled respectively. There must have been some vagueness as to the specific meaning of these words since it was thought necessary to define them by the epithets τετράτροχον and δίτροχος. The word 'carrum' or 'carrus' occurs both in Caesar and Livy, but always designates a *barbaric* waggon of some kind. It was common in late Latin, apparently equivalent to the classical 'plaustrum' ('Plaustrum, quod vulgo carrum'; v. Du Cange), which was both four- and two-wheeled. In modern Greek while κάρρο is the common word for an agricultural cart (cf. note on l. 9), ἄμαξα is a four-wheeled pleasure or travelling conveyance, most commonly a 'fly.'

As Waddington has remarked, the use of headings in this edict is very uncertain and inconsistent. Thus, in the present case, no fresh heading occurs until l. 53, Περὶ Κοσκίνων, while the heading Περὶ Κάρρων is properly applicable to three entries only at most.

Lines 29, 30.—Κάρρων; ✕, αφ.—*Ger.* Kâron; ✕, σν. For κάρων Le Bas' copy has ΚΑΡΙΝ; v. note on last line.

Lines 31-34.—Κ. σεσιδ.—*Ger.* Kâron σεσιδηρωμένον (neuter, as in preceding line). Le Bas has ΚΑΡΙΟΝ, and I suspect the real reading is ΚΑΡΡΟΝ, double ρ, as in our version; v. note on l. 28.

ὑπὲρ τοῦ ξυλικού.—*Ger.* (C.I.L.) [μ]ετ[ά] ζυγοῦ ξυλίνου, (Wadd.) [μ]ετ[ά] ζυγοῦ ξυλίνου. I greatly prefer our own reading; for *Ger.*'s reading, when λόγον is restored for δέ τοῦ in l. 32, becomes untranslatable except by taking the words in a very unnatural order; and the restoration λόγου is certain. At the same time, τὸ ξυλικόν, absolutely, for 'woodwork,' is peculiar.

λόγου.—*Ger.* δέ τοῦ; v. note on ll. 22-26.

οὕτως.—Absent from *Ger.*

ὀφείλει πιπράσκεσθαι.—*Ger.* πιπράσκεσθαι ὀφείλει.

Lines 35, 36.—μετὰ ζυγοῦ.—*Ger.* μετ[ά] ζυγοῦ.

ἄμαξα, here two-wheeled. In one of the earliest places where the word occurs (*Od.* ix. 241) it is definitely stated to have four wheels, and such is the use of the word in modern Greek.

Line 37.—Τρίβολος.—Lat. 'tribulum' (from 'tero'). The short 'i' (v. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 104) arose from a confusion with τριβόλος, a 'caltrop.' 'Tribulum' is a threshing-sledge. Its use is best explained by Varro, *de R. R.* i. 52, 1—'Id fit e tabula lapidibus aut ferro asperata, quo [quæ?] imposito auriga aut pondere grandi trahitur jumentis junctis, ut discutiat e spica grana.' And Pliny (xviii. 30, 72) enumerates the different modes of

threshing, 'Messis ipsa alibi tribulis in area [the sledge], alibi equarum gressibus exteritur [treading], alibi perticis flagellatur [the flail], v. also Verg. *Georgics* I. 164.

Line 38.—*μετὰ ζυγοῦ*.—*Ger.* [μ]ετὰ ξύλων; but our *ζυγοῦ* is quite clear; and, the plough being almost (often quite) entirely of wood, *Ger.*'s ξύλων is meaningless. The cheapness of the plough (1s. 8d.; but v. Introduction) is interesting. Both the Hesiodic and the Vergilian plough were extremely simple structures; and the plough used in Arcadia at the present day is almost identical with the Hesiodic and hardly more elaborate; the only difference which one can discover being the addition of the Vergilian 'aures' or 'earth-boards.' I have seen such a plough in course of construction by a countryman, and he assured me he could complete it in a day.

Line 39.—*Παύγα ἤτοι γλεύδια Χρ.*—*Ger.* δίκελλαν τορονευτήν Ψιβ. I can bring these two readings into no relation to each other; both must have been in the original, unless indeed 'pavicula,' which he did not understand, suggested δίκελλα to an imaginative engraver.

*Παύγα*.—No doubt the Latin 'pavicula,' a 'rammer' or 'beetle,' for beating down earth in making a floor or the like. Its use is explained by Cato, *de R. R.* 91 (to make an 'area' or threshing-floor), 'Comminuito glebas bene, deinde coaequato, et paviculis verberato.' The word is derived from 'pavio' (cf. *παίω*), to 'beat,' 'pound,' whence 'pavimentum.'

*Γλεύδια*.—A clue to the meaning of *γλεύδια* may probably be obtained from the entry 'gubium' in Du Cange. 'Gubium' is there explained in the following terms: 'Instrumentum ad hortum excolendum, apud Adalardum in Statutis antiquis Monasterii Corbeiensis cap. 1, Scalprum, Gubium, et falcilia, &c.' 'Instrumentum ad hortum excolendum' seems to me hardly a satisfactory explanation. From the position of the word, between 'scalprum' and 'falcilia' [? falcula], I should rather suppose it to be a cutting-instrument of some kind. In this connection, Mr. Hyslop, of King's, has called my attention to the word 'glubo' (v. Lewis and Short). 'Glubo' = γλίφω, and occurs in Cato (*de R. R.* 33, 5) and Varro (*de R. R.* i. 55, 2) in the sense of 'to bark' or 'to peel.' I am inclined to think that this verb is the origin both of 'gubium' and *γλεύδια*. The derivative noun was probably 'glūbia' or 'glūbium.' This word has been corrupted, on the one hand, in the Statutes to 'gubium' (transposition of u and l)—possibly this was even the form in use at that time—on the other, by the engraver of our inscription, who did not understand the Latin word, to 'glūdia,' *γλεύδια* (substitution of D for B). Both transitions are of the easiest; and for the discrepancy in gender, v. note on l. 27. *γλεύδια*, then, —properly *γλεύβια*, Lat. glūbia or glūbium—is an instrument for barking trees.

Line 40.—*Δηλάβρα; πτοῖον*.—*Ger.* Σμ[υ]ύην; πτύον. *Δηλάβρα* should no doubt be *δολάβρα* = Lat. 'dolabra,' a 'pick.' Possibly it was wooden, like the *τύρχη* of l. 43, and (probably) the *θρεῖναξ* of l. 42; *σμυνή* is the Greek translation of the same word.<sup>1</sup> Here, as in the succeeding line, the Geronthraean engraver translated, the Megalopolitan transcribed.

*πτοῖον, πτύον*.—The interchange of *οι* and *υ* shews how early the degeneration of Greek vowel-sounds set in. Probably by the end of the 3rd century A.D. *οι* and *υ* were pronounced alike, as they are at the present day. Similarly, *ι* and *υ* (e.g. *ισγίνη* = *ύσγίνη*); *ι*, *ει*, and *η* (e.g. *ις* = *εις*; *όλοσειρικόν* (*Meg.*) = *όλοσηρικόν* (*Car.*), &c.).

The position of *πτοῖον*—among spades, forks, and picks—is noticeable. It is not a winnowing-fan, but a winnowing-shovel, with which the threshed corn was thrown up against the wind. Possibly even the notion of winnowing had disappeared, as in modern Greek the diminutive *φτυάρι* is the ordinary word for a shovel.

Line 41.—*Πάλα*.—*Ger.* μάκ[ελλαν]. *Πάλα* = Lat. 'pala,' a spade; Rich adds 'with an iron blade,' apparently on the authority of Columella; but the price given here (less than 1*δ.*; but v. Introduction) implies a wooden instrument of the simplest kind. *Ger.*'s

<sup>1</sup> *σμυνή* is not = 'bidens,' 'hoe,' as L. and S., but = 'dolabra,' 'pickaxe.' This is proved by Ar. *Nub.* 1486, as well as by our inscription.



translation *μάκελλα* suggests that the *μάκελλα* also was a spade; and there is nothing either in the word itself, or in the passages cited by the lexica, to conflict with this. The explanation of L. and S., 'pickaxe,' is disproved by one of the passages cited by themselves, *Luc. dial. cum Hes.* 7, a passage which decidedly favours the rendering 'spade.' Lastly, if *μάκελλα* in *Ger.* was not a spade, then the spade was altogether absent from the list.

Line 42.—*Θρεῖναξ*.—Absent from *Ger.* The price alone remains. *Θρεῖναξ, θρεῖναξ* = a three-pronged fork; cf. Arist. *Pax*, 567. It is so cheap, that it must, like the two-pronged fork which follows, have been wooden.

Lines 43, 44.—*Ger.* (Wadd.) . . . . . *μο . ουγ . . . ν . . . . .*  
*λ . . . . . αμου . . . . .*  
*✕ ρνδ.*

*C.I.L.* ditto. with slightly different intervals. Evidently in *Ger.* the numeral δ has got out of place, so that what were really two entries have, in the transcript, been combined into one. This gave *ρνδ* = 154, a ridiculous figure.

As to the letters, which evidently were not very clear, I suppose that what the transcribers have got as *ΜΟ . ΟΥΓ . . . Ν* was really *ΔΙΟ . ΟΥΣ . . . Ν*. (= *διόδους ξυλίνην*), and that . . . *ΑΜΟΥ . . .* should be . . . *ΑΜΟΔ . . .* (= *πενταμοδιαία*).

*τέρχη*.—Cf. Du Cange's *Greek* glossary, 'Τέρχη, Furca, in *Gloss. Gr. Lat.*' He adds 'Puto legendum *φύρκη*;' but our inscription confirms *τέρχη* as the correct reading. *Τέρχη διόδους*, then, = a 'two-pronged fork.'

*σκάφη πενταμοδιαία* = a 'five-modius tub.' The 'modius' was about a peck.

Line 45.—*Μόδιος ξύλινος*, a 'wooden modius-measure;' chiefly used for measuring corn; *v.* illustration in Rich. The 'modius' there figured seems to be *σιδηρενδετός* ('strengthened with iron bands'), as in the next entry in our inscription.

Line 46.—*σιδηρενδετός*.—*Ger.* *σιδηρωτός*, with same meaning.

Line 47.—*Κάβαθα; κάμηλα; σημοδιαία; γεγενημένη τετορνευμένη*.—*Ger.* *γάβαθαν; κόνειλαν; σημοδιάν; γενομένη[v] τορονευτήν*. (Wadd. notes that the *κο* of *κόνειλαν* is doubtful.) *Κάβαθα*, or *γάβαθα* (Lat. *gabata*) appears to be a hollow dish or bowl for food. That it is a bowl, and not a flat dish is proved: (*a*) by its epithet here, *σημοδιαία*, shewing that it held a fixed measure; (*b*) by the absurd etymology given by Isidorus and others [*v.* Du Cange], viz. from 'cavata' 'hollowed'; (*c*) from Hesychius' rendering of *γάβαθον*, 'τρυβλίον,' a mistake which could not have arisen if it had been a flat dish. That it was a bowl for food, and not a drinking-bowl, appears (*a*) from Martial xi. 32, 18; where, describing the dinner given by Caecilius, where all the dishes are of 'cucurbita' or 'gourd,' he says of the steward, 'Sic implet gabatas paropsidasque, Et leves scutulas, cavaeque lances,' all of which are dishes of various kinds—there is no reference at all to drinks; (*b*) from a Christian writer, Fortunatus (c. 600 A.D.), '*Carnea dona tumens argentea Gavata perfert*,' which shews that its meaning remained unchanged.

To the meaning of *κάμηλα* (*Ger.* *κόνειλα*) I have found no clue. It must have been a vessel of some kind, and probably received its name *κάμηλα* from its shape.

Lines 49—end.—The remainder of this column is new; I have nothing to collate with it. It is a continuation of Wadd.'s chap. xv., which breaks off abruptly at this point, the Geronthraean fragment here coming to an end.

Line 49.—*μύλος καβαλλαρικός*, 'horse-mill'; *έν λίθους* apparently = *λιθινος*.

Line 50.—*μύλος όνικός*, 'ass-mill.' Cf. Mark ix. 42, where *μύλος όνικός* is translated 'a great mill-stone' in the R.V., the horse, for such purposes, being unknown in Palestine. Here it is by no means the greatest. The order in price (as in size) is (1) water-mill (*μύλος έδραλεκτικός*); (2) horse-mill; (3) ass-mill; (4) hand-mill (*χειρόμυλος*). The prices must be for the stones only, the price for the water-mill especially being too small on any other supposition.

Line 53.—A new heading, 'Sieves.'

Line 54.—*Κόσκινον άλωνικόν*.—This was, I suppose, a *winnering*-sieve. Two processes

had to be gone through, viz. (1) casting up the corn against the wind, so as to separate husk from grain; (2) sifting the grain itself, so as to separate large from small. The modern 'winnowing' combines both functions.

Lines 55, 56.—**Κ]όσκινον ἀπὸ δέρματος κ.τ.λ.**—The difference between this and the **Κόσκινον ἀπὸ βύρσης** of l. 54 must be in the epithet, which I cannot wholly decipher.

Line 57.—**Κόσκινον πλεκτόν.**—The sieves of ll. 54—56 were drums of hide, pierced. Those of ll. 57 *sqq.* are **πλεκτά**, *i.e.* a net-work like that of modern sieves. For the **κόσκινον ἀπὸ βύρσης** *v.* illustration in Rich *s.v.* 'Cribrum.'

Line 58.—**ιδιωτικόν**, 'common,' 'ordinary.'—**ιδιώτης** came from meaning a 'lay' (as opposed to official), to meaning a 'common' (as opposed to superior) person. For **ιδιωτικός**, = 'common,' *v.* Steph. *Thesaurus*, *s.v.*; and for **ιδιώτης**, = a 'common person,' *v.* Col. IV. ll. 26, 27 of our inscription, **λίγνου τραχυτέρου ἰς χρῆσιν ιδιωτῶ[ν] τε καὶ φαρμακικῶν**, a coarser material for the use of common people and slaves.

## COL. II.

1-80 New

A \*H

M \*S

5 ΟΥ 7A \*M  
 ΧΡΩΜΑΤ 7A \*Λ  
 ΧΡΩΜ 7A \*K  
 ΗΚΑΙΧΕΛΩΝΙΝΩ  
 7A \*ΡΝ  
 ΙΝΔΙΚΟΥΝΩΤΙΑΙΟΥ 7A \*Ρ  
 10 Ω////  
 ΡΑΦΙΚΗΙΣΧΝΟΤΑΤΗ \*Δ  
 ΑΣΦΩΡΜΒΕΛΟΝΗ Α \*Β  
 ΝΗΣΑΡΚΟΡΑΦΗΗΤΟΙΣΑΓΜΑ  
 ΙΚΗ \*Β  
 15 ΤΩΝΜΙΣΘΩΝΤΗΣΒΕΚΤΟΥ  
 ////HC  
 ΑΕΝΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΚΑΤΑΜΕΙΛΙΟΝ  
 \*Β  
 ΗΣΜΙΣΘΟΣΚΑΤΑΜΕΙΛΙΝΑ \*ΙΒ  
 20 ////ΚΤΟΥΡΑΚΑΡΡΟΥΓΕΓΟΜΩΝΟΥ  
 ΙΣΛΕΙΤΡΑΣ ,ΑΣ ΚΑΘΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ  
 ΜΕΙΛΙΟΝ \*Κ  
 ΒΕΚΤΟΥΡΑΓΟΜΟΥΚΑΜΗΛΟΥΕΚ  
 ΛΕΙΤΡΩΝ Χ ΚΑΘΕΚΑΣΤΟΝΜΕΙ  
 25 ΛΙΟΝ \*Η  
 ΒΕΚΤΟΥΡΑΘΝΟΥΓΕΓΟΜΩΜΕΝΟΥ  
 ΚΑΘΕΚΑΣΤΟΝΜΕΙΛΙΟΝ \*Δ  
 ΠΕΡΙΧΟΡΤΟΥ  
 ΧΟΡΤΟΥΒΙΚΙΑΣ 7B \*Β  
 30 ΧΟΡΤΟΥΗΤΟΙΑΧΥΡΟΥ 7Δ \*Β  
 ΠΑΒΟΥΛΟΥ 7S \*Α  
 ΠΕΡΙΠΛΟΥΜΟΥ  
 ΠΛΟΥΜΟΥΧΗΝΕΙΟΥ 7A \*Ρ  
 ΠΛΟΥΜΟΥΔΙΑΦΟΡΩΝΟΡΝΕΩΝ 7A \*Ν  
 35 ΠΤΕΡΑΛΕΠΤΑΠΟΙΚΙΛΩΝΟΡΝΕΩΝ  
 ΛΕΙΤΡΑ Α \*Β  
 ΕΠΕΑΣΗΤΟΙΠΛΟΥΜΟΥΑΠΟΕΛΙΚΗΣ  
 ΛΕΙΤΡΑΙ Ρ \*Α

	COL. II.	Denarii.	
	. . . . . α *ή'	8	1-80 New.
	. . . . . μ *ς'	6	Comes between
	. . . . .		XV. and XVI.
	. . . . . ου πα' *μ'	40	of Wadd. and
5	. . . . . χρώματ<ος> πα' *λ'	30	C.I.L.
	. . . . . χρώμ<ατος> πα' *κ	20	
	. . . . . (ν) καὶ χελωνίν[ου]		
	. . . . . πα *ρν'	150	
	. . . . . 'Ινδικοῦ νωτιαίου πα *ρ	100	
10	§§. ? Περὶ βελον](ώ)[ν ?		
	? Βελόνη . . .]ραφική ισχυροτάτη *δ'	4	
	Δευτέρ]ας φώρμ<ης> βελόνη α *β	2	
	Βελό]νη σα[κ]κοράφη ἤτοι σαγμα-		
	[τ]ική *β'	2	
15	§§. Περὶ] τῶν μισθῶν τῆς βεκτοῦ-		
	[ρ]ης		
	. . . αεν ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ μείλιον		
	*β'	2	
	? 'Αμάξ]ης μισθὸς κατὰ μέλιν α' *ιβ'	12	
20	Βε]κτοῦρα κάρρου γεγομω<μέ>νου		
	ἰς λείτρας ,ασ' καθ' ἕκαστον		
	μείλιον *κ'	20	
	Βεκτοῦρα γόμου καμήλου ἐκ		
	λειτρῶν χ' καθ' ἕκαστον μεί-		
25	λιον *η	8	
	Βεκτοῦρα ὄνου γεγομωμένου		
	καθ' ἕκαστον μείλιον *δ'	4	
	§§. Περὶ χόρτου		
	Χόρτου βικίας ηβ' *β'	2	
30	Χόρτου ἤτοι ἀχύρου ηδ' *β'	2	
	Παβούλου ης' *α'	1	
	§§. Περὶ πλούμου		
	Πλούμου χηνείου πα' *ρ'	100	
	Πλούμου διαφόρων ὀρνέων πα' *ν'	50	
35	Πτερὰ λεπτὰ ποικίλων ὀρνέων		
	λείτρα α' *β'	2	
	Ε[ρ]έας ἤτοι πλούμου ἀπὸ ἐλίκης		
	λείτραι ρ' *α'	1,000	

	ΛΥΧΝΕΙΔΟΣΚΕΝΤΗΝΑΡΙΝ	*A
40	ΚΑΝΘΗΛΗΣΤΟΙΚΑΛΑΜΑΝΘΗΛΗΣ ΚΕΝΤΗΝΑΡΙΝ	*P
	ΠΩΜΕΝΤΟΥΗΤΟΙΓΝΑΦΑΛΛΟΥ 7A	*H
	ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ 7A	*Δ
	ΠΤΕΡΟΝΠΑΘΝΙΟΝΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΝΑ	*B
45	ΠΤΕΡΑΓΥΠΙΝΑΚΕ	*5
	ΠΕΡΙΚΑΛΑΜΩΝΚΑΙΜΕΛΑΝΙΟΥ ΜΕΛΑΝΙΟΥ 7A	*IB
	ΚΑΛΑΜΟΙΠΑΦΙΚΟΙΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΝΟΙ ΜΟΝΟΓΟΝΑΤΟΙ	*Δ
50	ΚΑΛΑΜΟΙΔΕΥΤΦΩΡ Κ	*Δ
	ΠΕΡΙΕΣΘΗΤΟΣ ΧΛΑΜΥΣΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΗΝΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΑ ΛΙΑΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΗ	*Δ
	ΣΤΙΧ////ΗΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΑΛΙΑ	*B
55	ΑΣΗΜΟΣ	*ACN
	//ΕΝΔΡΟΜΙΣΙΣΠΑΠΥΛΙΩΝΑΜΙΑ ΕΧΟΥΣΑ////ΜΗΚΟΥΣΚ////////ΑΙΠΛΑ ΤΟΥΣΠΟ////ΔΑΣ Ι5 ΒΑΠΤΗ	*Bφ
	ΕΝΔΡΟΜΙΣΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΗΚΡΕΒΕΤΤΑΡΙΑ	
60	ΛΕΥΚΗΛΕΙΤΡΩΝ ΙΒ	*AX
	ΕΝΔΡΟΜΙΣΑΡΑΒΙΚΗΗΤΟΙΔΑΜΑΣΚΗ ΝΗΗΕ////ΤΕΡΑΣΟΠΟΙΑΣΔΗΠΟΤΟΥΝ ΒΑΠΤΗΛΟΓΟΥΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥΤΟΥΛΕΙ ΤΡΙΣΜΟΥΤΗΣΕΡΕΑΣΚΑΙΤΗΣΠΛΟΥΜΑ	
65	ΡΙΣΕΩΣΠΙΠΡΑΣΚΕΣΘΑΙΟΦΕΙΛΕΙ ΕΝΔΡΟΜΙΣΙΔΙΩΤΙΚΗ 7I	*φ
	ΔΕΛΜΑΤΙΚΟΜΑΦΕΡΤΙΟΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΙ ΟΝΕΞΕΡΙΩΝΤΡΑΧΥΤΕΡΩΝΣΕΣΗΜΙ ΜΕΝΟΝΠΟΡΦΥΡΑΣΙΣΓΙΝΗΣ	
70	ΔΕΛΜΑΤΙΚΗΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ//// ΚΟΣΕΧΟΥΣΑΥΠΟΒΛΑΤΤΗΣ//////// ΣΤΙΧΣΥΝΨΕΙ////ΡΙΚ////////// ΥΠΟΒΛΑΤΤΗΣ Γ//////////	

			Denarii.
	Δυχνείδος κεντήναριν	✕,α	1,000
40	Κανθήλης ήτοι καλαμανθήλης κεντήναριν	✕ρ'	100
	[Τ]ωμέντου ήτοι γναφάλλου πα'	✕ή'	8
	Δευτέρου πα'	✕δ'	4
	Πτερὸν παόνιον κάλλιστον α'	✕β'	2
15	Πτερὰ γύπινα κέ	✕ς	6
	§§. Περὶ καλάμων καὶ μελανίου		
	Μελανίου πα'	✕ιβ'	12
	Κάλαμοι Παφικοὶ Ἀλεξανδρείνοι μονογονατοὶ	✕δ'	4
50	Κάλαμοι δευ<έρας> φώρ<μης> κ'	✕δ	4
	§§. Περὶ ἐσθήτος		
	Χλαμὺς στρατιωτικὴ ἰνδικτιωνά- λια καλλίστη	✕,δ'	4,000
	Στίχη ἰνδικτιωνάλια	✕,β'	2,000
55	Ἄσημος	✕,ασν	1,250
	Ἐνδρομὺς ἰς παπυλίωνα μία, ἔχουσα μήκους καὶ πλά- τους πόδας ις', βαπτὴ	✕,βφ'	2,500
	Ἐνδρομὺς καλλίστη κρεβεττάρια λευκὴ λειτρῶν ιβ'	✕,αχ'	1,600
60	Ἐνδρομὺς Ἀραβικὴ ήτοι Δαμασκή- νη ἢ ἐτέρας ὁποιασθηποῦν, βαπτὴ, λόγου γενομένου τοῦ λει- τρισμοῦ τῆς ἐρέας καὶ τῆς πλουμα- ρίσεως πιπράσκεισθαι ὀφείλει		
65	Ἐνδρομὺς ἰδιωτικὴ π'	✕φ'	500
	Δελματικομαφέρτιον γυναικεῖ- ον ἐξ ἐρίων τραχυτέρων, σεσημι- μένον, πορφύρας ἰσγίνης		
70	Δελματικὴ ἀνδρεία [μῆ-] κος ἔχουσα ὑποβλάττης [. . . πόδας?] . . Στίχη συνψειρικ[τῆ μήκος ἔχουσα] ὑποβλάττης γ' [πόδας?]. . .		

75           CTIXHACH////MOCEΥ////////  
               ΔΕΛΜΑΤΙΚΟΜ  
               CYNΨΕΙΡΙΚΟ  
               ΔΕΛΜΑΤΙΚΟΜ  
               ΤΟΥΝΗ////  
               ΕΧ////  
 80           ΔΕΛΜ

(5 lines, and the entire lower slab, are missing.)

## COL. II.

The second column is entirely new. It must come between Chaps. XV. and XVI. in the arrangements of Wadd. and of the *Corpus*, since our Col. I. tacks on to the end of their Chap. XV., and our Col. III. coincides with a part of their Chap. XVI. Col. II. did not immediately follow Col. I. (in its present form), the lower part of all four columns having been inscribed on a separate slab, which has not been discovered (*v.* Introduction). There is therefore a gap at this point, corresponding to all (perhaps eighty-five lines) which was engraved in this column on the lower slab.

Lines 1-10.—Of these ten lines we have fragments only. They refer to some article which was sold by weight (the pound), and which appears from l. 5 *χρώμα(τ)* . . . to have been of different colours.

Line 7.—*χελων[ου]*,—‘of tortoise-shell’? or is it a colour?

Line 8.—*νωτιαίου*.—*v.* note on IV. 11.

Line 10.—[*Περὶ βελον*] (*ῶ*)[*ν*].—The restoration is conjectural; but fairly probable, as headings are pretty abundant in this part of the inser.

Line 12.—*δευτέρ[ας φώρμ<ης>]*,—‘second quality.’ In other parts of the edict, *e.g.* in our Col. IV., *πρώτ. φώρ.*, *δευτ. φώρ.*, etc.—or *φώρ. α’*, *φώρ. β’*, *φώρ. γ’*—are regular formulae. In other cases we have the full word *φώρμης*, or the same thing with a short -ο-. And in places where the original is extant, we have the Latin ‘forma,’ of which *φώρμη*, or *φόρμη*, is a transcript.

The transition to this sense of the word ‘forma’ (‘class’ or ‘quality’) appears in Cicero’s use of it for the *sub-divisions of a genus*, noted by Quintilian (V. 10, 62). Waddington remarks (introductory note on Chap. VIII.) that under the Empire ‘forma’ was a ‘grade’ in the imperial service, officials rising regularly from one ‘forma’ to another. Our word ‘form,’ equivalent to ‘class,’ in a school, is an extension of this.

Line 13.—*σα[κ]κοράφη*.—The stone reads clearly *σαρκοράφη*. That this is a mistake for *σακκοράφη* is clear from the following entry in the *Etymologicum Magnum*: ‘*Ακίστρα—ἡ βελόνη ἢ μείζων, ἣν νυν σακκοράφιον καλοῦσιν.*’ Since it was a large needle, and used for sacking, it was probably what we should call a ‘packing-needle.’

Line 14.—*σαγμα[τ]ική*.—Another large needle, perhaps a saddler’s needle, *σάγμα* being a ‘pack-saddle.’

Lines 15, 16.—A new section,—rates for carriage and portorage. *βεκτοῦρα* = ‘vectura.

Lines 17, 18.—. . . *αεν ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ μείλιον*.—The reading is certain. *σάγμα* *α* *ἐν* is a possible restoration, but I do not consider it satisfactory. In any case the wages are for portorage by hand. The price is very low. Possibly the missing word was some measure of weight—that of a small-sized package; so that the porter could earn twice or three times the amount in a single journey.

Στίχη ἄσσημος (εὐ) . . . . .  
 75 Δελματικὸ(μ) [αφέρτιον . . ?]  
 συνψειρικὸ[ν . . . ?]  
 Δελματικομ [αφέρτιον Μου-]  
 τουνή[σιον θαλάσσιον μῆκος ?]  
 ἐχ[ον ὑποβλάττης . . . πόδας ?]  
 80 Δελμ . . . . .

(The lower portion of the missing slab corresponds to Wadd. XVI. 1—18, C.I.L. XVI. 1—20.)

Line 19.—ἀμάξ]ης.—The restoration is purely conjectural; but may well, I think, be correct. The word is of the right length to fit the line; it comes naturally alongside of *κάβρου* (l. 20); and the price is suitable—viz. rather more than half the hire of the *κάβρον*, which had four wheels, while the *ἄμαξα* had two.

μεῖλιν, for *μεῖλιον*. The termination -ιν for -ιον is common in late inscriptions. We may compare *κεντήναριν* for *κεντηνάριον* in ll. 39 and 41.

Lines 20–22.—Rate for carriage by waggon, 20 denarii a mile. For this rate the employer is entitled to a load *not exceeding* 1,200 Roman lbs. (*is λείτρας ,ασ*).

λείτρας.—Λείτρα (or λίτρα)=Lat. 'libra,' 'a pound.' The Roman pound was equivalent to about 0.72 (=nearly  $\frac{3}{4}$ ) of an English pound. The symbol for it in the inscription is **π**, which perhaps=λί<τρα>. Other symbols employed, in different versions of the Edict, are **Λ** (*Ger.*) **Λ** (*Car.*), and **λ** (*Megara*). In Latin fragments of the Edict the usual abbreviation is 'Ital. Po' (=Italicum Pondo).

γεγομω<μέ>νου.—two letters accidentally omitted. The verb *γομώω*, from *γόμος*, is not absolutely unknown; one instance is quoted from Babrius.

Lines 23–25.—Rate of carriage by camel.—Why is λείτρας ,ασ in the preceding entry, ἐκ λειτρών χ' here? It is hardly likely that in one case the *maximum* load, in the other the *minimum*, for which the charge was made, is given; so we must suppose that the difference is merely in the point of view—one is 'up to,' the other 'down from,' the fixed amount.

Line 28.—A new heading,—'Fodder.'

Line 29.—βικίας.—Lat. *vicia*, 'vetch.' The meaning of 'vicia' is sufficiently established: (a) by the identity of name with our 'vetch,' (b) by its use as fodder, (c) by Pliny XVIII. 15, 37, where it is classed among leguminous plants, (d) by Varro, *de R. R.* I. 31, 5, where the word is derived from 'vincio' because of its *clinging tendrils*.

Why the price should be fixed for 2 lbs. is not clear. In the next entry the amount fixed is 4 lbs., and in the succeeding entry 6 lbs. Presumably these were ordinary 'feeds.' If the sale of larger quantities were contemplated, the rate would be either per lb. or (more probably) per cwt. (*κεντήναρις*; cf. l. 39).

Line 30.—χόρτον.—Here a *specific* kind of fodder, as opposed to the *generic* sense of the word in l. 28. Presumably 'hay,' the fodder *par excellence*. The word is frequently used as = Lat. *faenum*; e.g. in the proverb 'χόρτον ἔχει ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρατος' (v. L. & S.); and the modern *χόρτον* = 'grass' (plur. 'green vegetables'), 'hay.'

ἀχύρου.—ἀχυρον = Lat. *palea*, 'chaff.' The combination with *χόρτος*, 'hay,' is a natural one;—*palea plures gentes pro faeno utuntur* (Plin. XVIII. 30, 72).

Line 31.—παβούλου.—πάβουλον = Lat. *pabulum*.—Here a special kind of fodder, for whose nature there is no sufficient evidence. In any case the name 'pabulum' proves it to have been in very common use, and the price (1 denarius for 6 lbs.) is extremely low. In the absence of more certain information, I propose the following. There was a kind of fodder called 'ocinum,' much commended by Cato, Varro, Pliny, which grew quickly, was



cut (or better, *plucked*) green, and grew again. It is said to have been a kind of trefoil. Forcellinus gives this 'ocinum' as a special meaning of the word 'pabulum.' His authority for this specific use of the word absolutely (*i.e.* without further explanation) is insufficient; but undeniably that meaning would suit the present passage. There is a kind of trefoil in use at the present day—the 'sainfoin'—which corresponds very nearly with the ancient 'ocinum.' It is a good fodder, grows so quickly as to yield three crops a year, and is in consequence extremely cheap.

Line 32.—Περὶ Πλούμων.—Properly 'down,' as appears from the first two entries, in which πλούμος is markedly distinguished from the περὰ λεπτά of l. 35. But, as a heading, it is used loosely to include (a) down, (b) down-like substances, ll. 37–43, (c) feathers of various kinds, ll. 35, 6; 44, 5. Πλούμος (or perhaps πλοῦμον) is a transcription of Lat. 'pluma,' with a reckless disregard of gender (cf. note on l. 27).

Lines 33, 34.—'Goose-down'; 'mixed down';—no doubt for stuffing cushions, etc., like the πλούμος of l. 37 and the γνάφαλλον of l. 42.

Line 35.—'Small feathers of all sorts of birds,'—only  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the price of down. The feathers, like the down, are probably for stuffing. If for decoration, ποικίλων might be translated 'many-coloured'; but the price is, I think, too low. Besides, both the preceding and the succeeding entries refer to stuffing.

Line 37.—Ἐ[ρ]έας ἦτοι πλούμου ἀπὸ ἑλίκης.—The stone reads ἐπέας, which is meaningless. The ἑλίκη is a small variety of the willow (Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* III. 12; Pliny, XVI. 37, 69). It is worth noting that Theophrastus gives ἑλίκη as specially an Arcadian name, so that possibly the word is peculiar to our version of the Edict;—at the same time Pliny uses it as a matter of course.

What is meant by the 'wool' or 'down' of the willow? Presumably the 'catkins' or 'palms.' The following passage, to which the Master of Trinity Hall has drawn my attention, is very much to the point. It is from Evelyn's *Silva*, Bk. I., chap. 20, § 8. The writer is speaking of the 'Hopping Sallow,' which, like the ἑλίκη of our inscription, is a small variety of the willow.—'The Hopping Sallows open and yield their palms before other Sallows; and when they are blown . . . the palms . . . are four inches long, and full of a fine lanuginous cotton. Of this sort there is a *Salix* near Dorking [= Dorking] in Surry, in which the *Julus* bears a thick cottonous substance: A poor body might in an hour's space gather a pound or two of it, which resembling the finest silk, might doubtless be converted to some profitable use by an ingenious housewife, if gathered in calm evenings, before the wind, rain, and dew impair them: I am of opinion, if it were dried with care, it might be fit for cushions, and pillows of chastity, for such of old was the reputation of the shade [?] of those trees.'

The reference at the end is no doubt to the 'lygus' or 'agnus castus,' whose leaves, according to Pliny (XXIV. 9, 38), were used for beds by the matrons at the Thesmophoria. If the 'agnus castus' was really a willow (Pliny only says it *resembled* a willow), it was probably not the leaves, but the 'palms,' which were used.

Line 39.—Λυχνείδος.—(For the substance of this note, and that on line 40 below, I have to thank Mr. W. R. Paton, who has corrected a former error of mine on the subject of these two lines.) The reference is, as Mr. Paton has pointed out to me, to the λυχνίς plant, mentioned by Pollux (X. 41) as used for stuffings. It was even, Pollux says, at one time known as ἀνθήλη, a word commonly employed in a more general sense for downy flowers of any kind (*v.* ἀνθήλη in the *Thes. Gr. Ling.*).

κεντήναριον,—for κεντηνάριον (cf. μείλιν for μείλιον, l. 19) = Lat. 'centenarium,' 100 lbs. It is equivalent therefore to the λείτραι ρ' of the preceding line.

Line 40.—κανθήλης ἦτοι καλαμανθήλης.—καλαμανθήλη is the downy flower (ἀνθήλη) of the reed. κανθήλη must either be a slip for ἀνθήλη—due perhaps to the κ in καλαμανθήλη which follows—or (as Mr. Paton suggests) may stand for ἀκανθανθήλη, *i.e.* 'thistle-down,' the middle syllable being dropped for the sake of euphony, the initial α- either from careless pronunciation or by an engraver's error. A former suggestion of my own, that ἀνθήλη was some kind of *rush* (whence 'candela,' properly a *rush*-light, and κανθήλια,

properly *rush*-baskets), must be abandoned, unless it can be shown that any part of the rush was used for stuffing.

If *κανθήλη* is a mistake for *ἀνθήλη*, *ἀνθήλη* is here used in a specific, as opposed to its general, sense, designating some special kind of downy flower; just as 'tomentum' in l. 42 designates some special kind of stuffing.

Line 42.—[Τ]ωμέντου ἦτοι γναφάλλου.—The stone reads clearly Πωμέντου (πώμεντον = pulmentum)—a word more familiar to the engraver. Evidently it should be Τωμέντου = tomenti, 'stuffing,' 'cushioning.' The best commentary on γναφάλλου is Pliny XXVII. 10, 61—'Gnaphalium [*al.* gnaphallium] aliqui chamaezelon vocant; cujus foliis albis molli-busque *pro tomento utuntur*; sane et similia sunt' [*i.e.* the gnaphalium and the chamaezelon], *v.* also Pollux X. 41. The 'gnaphalium' in modern botany is the 'cudweed,' a genus which includes, among other varieties, the 'edelweiss.' The part used for stuffing would probably be the 'involucral bracts'; but the whole plant is of a somewhat woolly nature.

Line 43.—δευτέρου,—'second quality.'

Lines 44, 45.—Peacocks' feathers are sold singly, vultures' in bundles of twenty-five. These are of course not for stuffing but for ornament.

Line 46.—Περὶ καλάμων καὶ μελανίου.—'Pens (reed-pens) and ink.' The ink is sold by the pound. This tallies with what we know already of Greek and Roman ink;—it was solid, like our 'Indian ink,' and had to be mixed when required. Daremberg and Saglio (*s.v.* Atramentum librarium) appropriately quote Dem. *de Corona*, p. 313, where Aeschines, in his boyhood, is described as performing menial offices in his father's school,—among others 'τὸ μέλαν τρίβων.' It was made of the soot of resin compounded with gum (Vitr. VII. 10, 2). The inscription proves it to have been extremely cheap.

Lines 48, 49.—κάλαμοι Παφικοὶ Ἀλεξανδρείνοι.—On the analogy of other passages (*e.g.* III. 40, 41, where see note), this should mean 'Paphian made in imitation of Alexandrian,' or *vice versa*. 'Paphian or Alexandrian' would be Παφ. ἤτοι Ἀλεξάνδρ.

Nothing is known of Paphian pens; Alexandrian, or at least Egyptian pens are mentioned with special approval by Pliny (XVI. 36, 64) and Martial (XIV. 38, 1). Pliny also mentions the pens of Cnidus, and those from the region around the Anaitic lake (in Armenia).

μονογονατοί,—*i.e.* made of a single joint of the reed. As this is a pen of best quality, one must suppose that a pen of which the whole length was cut out of a single joint was more pliant, more convenient to hold, and at the same time harder to get, than a pen made out of several. The 'second quality' pens of the next entry cost exactly  $\frac{1}{20}$  of the cost of the better kind. A reed-pen, cut ready for writing, has actually been found at Herculaneum; it is figured in Daremberg and Saglio, *s.v.* Calamus.

Line 50.—Δευτ<έρας> φώρ<μης>.—Cf. note on l. 12.

Line 51.—Περὶ ἐσθήτος.—'Clothing.'—This heading includes (1) all the rest of our Col. II., (2) probably also the entire *lost* part of this column (*i.e.* those portions which were inscribed on the lower slab, the latter part of which coincided with Wadd. Chap. XVI. 1-18, *C.I.L.* Chap. XVI. 1-20), (3) our Col. III. 1-33 (=Wadd. Chap. XVI. 19-45, *C.I.L.* Chap. XVI. 21-37).

Line 52.—χλαμύς,—a short cloak,—especially used for riding, and in the army. At Athens in classical times it was the characteristic dress of the 'ephebus': *v.* Dicts. *passim*.

ινδικτιωνάλια = Lat. 'indictionalis,' the adjective formed from 'indictio,' a 'tax' or 'impost.' Here the reference is to the system of the 'annona,' under which imperial officials were entitled, as part of their salary, to be provided with clothing at the expense of the provincials. Cf. *Vita Allini*, 10, 'Huic [*sc.* praefecto] salarium duplex decrevi, vestem militarem simplicem'; *Vita Claudii*, 15, 'tantum vestium quam proconsulatus Africano'; *Cod. Theod.* 7, 6, 'canonem vestium'; and, for the word 'indictio' in a similar sense, *ibid.* 6, 26, 15. I have to thank Professor Pelham for this note.

Line 54.—Στήχη.—A translation of Lat. 'strictoria,' as appears from Chap. VII. 56 (Wadd.) of the Edict, where both Greek and Latin are extant. 'Strictoria,' being derived

from 'stringo,'—has been explained as a tight-fitting tunic of some kind. Both the above conclusions are confirmed from another source, viz. *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* II. 189, 'Strictoria, στιχάριον'; *ibid.* II. 438, 'στιχάριον, tunica.' The form *στίχη* is peculiar to this Edict.

Line 55.—'Ἀσημος,'—'plain.' Contrast with *σεσημμένον* in l. 63. In III. 49 it is contrasted with *σκουλατόν*, 'check.'

Line 56-58.—'Ἐνδρομίς.—The 'locus classicus' for the 'endromis' is Mart. IV. 19,—where it is described as a thick garment of Gallic wool ('Sequanicae pinguem textricis alumnam'), to be worn when taking (one would rather suppose *after* taking) exercise, and proof against wind and rain. Its warmth is further proved by Juv. III. 103,—where the 'Graeculus esuriens,' shamming cold to keep his patron company, 'accipit endromidem.' In shape and size it is supposed to have resembled a blanket. The meaning 'rug' or 'blanket' is confirmed by the inscription, but the use of the blanket is different. It is employed not as an over-garment (the original meaning of the word), but (a) as a tent or awning (*v.* next note), (b) as bed-covering.

*παπυλιῶνα*.—*παπυλιῶν* = late Lat. papilio, a 'tent' or 'canopy,' from its resemblance, on a large scale, to a butterfly; hence Fr. 'pavillon' (same word as 'papillon'), Eng. 'pavilion.' How came a blanket (*ἐνδρομίς*) to be used *ἵς παπυλιῶνα*? I suppose that this, like the preceding entries, was *στρατιωτική*,—an army 'regulation' blanket, which could be used in various ways, among others as a sort of canopy against sun and rain. Its size, 16 feet each way, is sufficient to allow of this. *βαπτή*, 'dyed'; as opposed to *λευκή* in the next entry.

Lines 59, 60.—'Ἐνδρομίς . . . κρεβεττάρια,—a 'bed-blanket.' As there is no regulation quality for this, and its value depended as much on thickness as on size, it is sold by weight.

Line 61-65.—'Ἐνδρομίς Ἀραβική ἤτοι Δαμασκήνη κ.τ.λ.—If this was a bed-covering, like the last, it was a *fancy* blanket or coverlet. If, on the other hand, it was to be used as an over-garment,—we may compare the Tyrian 'endromis' of Juvenal, VI. 243. Note the use of the wools of Damascus and Arabia, and the mention of *embroidery* (*πλουμαρίσεως*). The 'endromis' was properly an athletic costume, and a *luxurious* endromis, worn by *women*, was regarded by Juvenal as a scandal,—almost as a contradiction in terms.

*ἐτέρας ὁποιασδηποσοῦν*,—*sc. ἐρέας*.

*λετρισμοῦ*,—'weight,' the *λείπρα* being the standard.

Line 66.—*ἰδιωτική*.—*v.* note on l. 58.

Line 67-69.—*Δελματικομαφέρτιον*.—The word is new. Portions of it, more or less disguised, are extant on the 'Theban' and '1st Carystian' fragments. Thus we have . . . *αψέρτου*, . . . *ιέρτου*, and in one case (*C.I.L.* Chap. XVI. 17) *δελματικομάφερτ[ος]*, but without comment, as the word does not occur in Wadd.

*Δελματικομαφέρτιον* is compounded of two others, viz. (1) *Δελματική*,—for which *v.* Wadd.'s note on Chap. XVII. 11, and Du Cange, *s.v.* 'Dalmatica.' It was a tunic, for the shape of which at this period we have no evidence; but its shape in later times, when it was adopted as an ecclesiastical vestment, is pretty accurately described, for church writers attached allegoric meanings to all its details. It was cruciform, had large sleeves, was made of white wool, and was adorned with tassels ('fimbriae') at the left-hand side and with a purple stripe before and behind. Waddington is of opinion that at the time of this Edict, and for a long time after, it was identical with the *κολόβιον*, which was sleeveless; but the evidence for this theory is insufficient, while the evidence of the Edict itself is all against it, for we have several times repeated the entry *δελματικῶν . . . ἤτοι καλοβίων*; and *ἤτοι* in the Edict always distinguishes two different things, not two names of the same thing.

(2) *Μαφέρτιον* or *μαφόρτιον*.—The form *μαφόριον* is already known; in Lat. also 'mafors,' 'mafora,' 'maforteum,' etc. (*v.* Du Cange, both Greek and Latin). The commonest meaning seems to be a female *head-covering*; but the references to it are extremely inconsistent; it appears not only as a head-covering, but also as a *πέπλος*, *ἱμάτιον*, etc., and in the only passage in which the form 'maforteum' occurs, it is evidently some kind of tunic. It is consistent however in designating always some article of *female* dress; and in the present passage the combination with *δελματική* makes it probable that it designates a

tunic. The word (in the form *μαφόριον*) occurs in one inscription besides our own, viz. *C.I.G.* 8695, no. 4.—(On a reliquary) 'Ἐξουσίαι.—Τὸ μαφόριον τῆς ὑπεραγίας θ<εοτό>κου.'

What particular kind of tunic the combination of *δελματική* and *μαφόριον* was, it is obviously impossible to decide; but we cannot be wrong in describing it as a woman's *δελματική*, in opposition to the *δελματική ἀνδρεία* of the succeeding entry.

*σσημμένον*,—'with a pattern,'—presumably the stripes of purple mentioned in my description of the *δελματική* above.

*προφύρας ἰσγίνης*,—more properly *ἰσγίνης*.—'Hysginum' was a kind of purple or scarlet made from a plant called *ὑσγη*, but the word was used loosely for any vegetable colour of the same hue. Thus Pliny (XXI. 26, 97) says that in Gaul the 'hyacinthus' was used as a dye for 'hysginum'; and in a passage of this Edict (Wadd XVI. 94), a *ἰσγίνη* made of sea-weed is mentioned. For a further discussion of the word I must refer to Wadd's note on the passage referred to (XVI. 94). He decides that the colour was intermediate between the scarlet 'coccus' [the kermes insect] and the deep Tyrian purple [murex].

Lines 70, 71.—*ὑποβλάττης*.—*βλάττη* = Lat. *blatta*, a 'lump,' 'clot,' especially of blood; thence purple, from its colour (!); not uncommon in late Latin. *ὑποβλάττη* is presumably a purple of lighter shade: *v.* Wadd's note on Chap. XVI. 87. He finds that *βλ'ττη* is the deepest (blackest) purple, and suggests that *ὑποβλάττη* is violet.

*μήκος ἔχουσα ὑποβλάττης*.—I suppose that a numeral followed, as in l. 73, and in both places I add *πόδας* conjecturally. The *δελματική* was white, with *stripes* of purple (*v.* note on ll. 67-69), and the price apparently varied with the length of purple stripes.

Lines 77-79.—My restoration is of course conjectural. *Μουτουήσιον* is the only word we can regard as certainly correct.

## COL. III.

1-44 = Car.  
Col. I. 51-II. 25  
(C.I.L.); Col. A  
45-B. 22  
(Wadd.).

	ΒΙΡΟΣΡΕΙΠΗΣΙΟΣ	*H
	ΒΙΡΟΣΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ	*, <sup>5</sup>
	ΒΙΡΟΣΜΕΛΙΤΟΜΑΓΗΣΙΟΣ	*, <sup>5</sup>
	ΒΙΡΟΣΚΑΝΥΣΕΙΝΟΣΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΣ	
5	ΧΗΜΙΩΤΟΣ	*Δ
	ΒΙΡΟΣΝΟΥΜΕΔΙΚΟΣ	*Γ
	ΒΙΡΟΣΑΡΓΟΛΙΚΟΣΠΡΩΤΟΣΤΕΚΑΛ ΛΙΣΤΟΣ	*, <sup>5</sup>
	ΒΙΡΟΣΑΧΑΙΚΟΣΗΤΟΙΦΡΥΓΙΑΚΟΣ	
10	ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΣ	*B
	ΒΙΡΟΣΑΦΡΟΣ	*AΦ
	ΒΑΝΑΤΑΝΩΡΙΚΗΔΙΠΑΛΗΗΤΟΙΚΑ ΤΑΒΙΩΝ	* <sup>B</sup> M
	ΒΕΔΟΞΝΩΡΙΚΟΣΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΣΗΤΟΙ	
15	ΒΗΛΩΝ	* <sup>A</sup> M
	ΒΑΝΑΤΑΓΑΛΛΙΚΗ	* <sup>A</sup> M,Ε
	ΒΕΔΟΞΓΑΛΛΙΚΟΣ	*H
	ΣΙΝΓΙΛΙΩΝΝΩΡΙΚΟΣ	*AΦ
	ΣΙΝΓΙΛΙΩΝΓΑΛΛΙΚΟΣ	*ACN
20	ΣΙΝΓΙΛΙΩΝΝΟΥΜΕΔΙΚΟΣ	*X
	ΣΙΝΓΙΛΙΩΝΦΡΥΓΙΑΚΟΣΗΤΟΙΒΕΣΣΟΣ	*X
	ΦΑΙΝΟΥΛΑΛΑΔΙΚΗΝΗΚΑΛΛΙ	*Ε
	ΠΑΙΝΟΥΛΑΒΑΛΥΣΕΙΝΗ	*Δ
	ΦΙΒΛΑΤΩΡΙΟΝΡΑΙΔΙΚΑΝΟΝ	* <sup>A</sup> M,ΒΦ
25	ΦΙΒΛΑΤΩΡΙΟΝΤΡΕΒΕΡΙΚΟΝ	*H
	ΦΙΒΛΑΤΩΡΙΟΝΠΕΤΟΥΒΙΩΝΙΚΟΝ	*Ε
	ΦΙΒΛΑΤΩΡΙΟΝΑΦΡΟΝ	*B
	ΧΛΑΜΥΣΔΑΡΔΑΝΙΚΗΔΙΠΑΛΗΚΑΛ	* <sup>A</sup> M,ΒΦ
	ΧΛΑΜΥΣΔΑΡΔΑΝΙΚΗΑΠΑΛΗΚΑΛ	*
30	ΜΑΝΤΟΣ	*A
	ΣΑΓΟΣΓΑΛΛΙΚΟΣΤΟΥΤΕΣΤΙΝΑΝΒΙΑ	
	ΝΗΣΙΟΣΗΤΟΙΒΙΤΟΥΡΗΤΙΚΟΣ	*H
	ΣΑΓΟΣΑΦΡΟΣ	*Φ
	ΠΕΡΙΜΙΘΩΝΤΩΝΠΛΟΥΜΑΡΙΩΝ	
35	ΚΑΙΣΕΙΡΙΚΑΡΙΩΝ	
	ΠΛΟΥΜΑΡΙΩΙΣΣΤΙΧΗΝΣΥΝΨΕΙΡΙ	
	ΚΟΝ	///A *C
	ΙΣΣΤΙΧΗΝΟΛΟΣΕΙΡΙΚΟΝΓΟΑ	*T

	COL. III.	Denarii.	
	Βίρος 'Ρειπήσιος	✕,η'	8,000
	Βίρος Βρεταννικός	✕,ς'	6,000
	Βίρος* Μελιτομαγήσιος*	✕ ς'	6,000
	Βίρος Κανυσείνος* κάλλιστος*		
5	σημιωτός	✕,δ'	4,000
	Βίρος Νουμεδικός*	✕.γ'	3,000
	Βίρος Αργολικός πρώτος τε κάλ- λιστος	✕,ς	6,000
	Βίρος 'Αχαικός ήτοι Φρυγιακός		
10	κάλλιστος	✕,β'	2,000
	Βίρος "Αφρος	✕,αφ'	1,500
	Βάνατα* Νωρική διπλή ήτοι κα- ταβίων	✕β'μ<ύρια>	20,000
	Βέδοξ* Νωρικός* κάλλιστος ήτοι		
15	βήλ(ο)ν	✕α'μ<ύρια>	10,000
	Βάνατο* Γαλλική	✕α'μ<ύρια>,έ'	15,000
	Βέδοξ* Γαλλικός*	✕,η'	8,000
	Σινγιλίων* Νωρικός	✕,αφ'	1,500
	Σινγιλίων* Γαλλικός	✕,ασν'	1,250
20	Σινγιλίων Νουμεδικός	✕χ'	600
	Σινγιλίων Φρυγιακός ήτοι Βέσσος	✕χ'	600
	Φαίνουλα Λαδικήνη καλλι<στη>	✕,έ'	5,000
	Παίνουλα Βαλυσείνη	✕,δ'	4,000
	Φιβλατώριον 'Ραιδικᾶνον	✕α'μ<ύρια>,βφ'	12,500
25	Φιβλατώριον Τρεβερικόν*	✕,η'	8,000
	Φιβλατώριον Πετουβιωνικόν*	✕,έ'	5,000
	Φιβλατώριον "Αφρον	✕,β'	2,000
	Χλαμύς Δαρδανική διπλή καλ<λίστη>	✕α'μ<ύριο>,βφ'	12,500
	Χλαμύς Δαρδανική απλή καλ<λίστη>	✕[.ξ]	7,000
30	Μάντος	✕(,α',	1,000
	Σάγος Γαλλικός τουτέστιν* 'Ανβια- νήσιος* ήτοι Βιτουρητικής*	✕,η'	8,000
	Σάγος "Αφρος*	✕φ'	500
§§. Περὶ μισθῶν* τῶν πλουμαρίων*			
35	καὶ σειρικαρίων*		
	Πλουμαρίῳ ἰς στίχην συνψευρι- κόν*	[Γο]α'	✕σ'
	Ἰς στίχην ὀλοσειρικόν	Γο α'	✕τ'
			200
			300

1-65 = Wadd  
XVI. 19-66 or  
67; C I L. XVI  
21-56.

		ΙΧΛΑΝΙΔΑΜΟΥΤΟΥΝΗCΙΑΝΓΟΑ	*ΚΕ
40		ΙΧΛΑΝΙΔΑΛΑΔΙΚΗΝΗΝΜΟΥΤΟΥ	
		ΝΗCΙΑΝ ΓΟΑ	*ΚΕ
		ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙΚΑΡΙΩΔΙΑΧΡΥCΟΥΕΡΓΑΖΟΜΕ	
		ΝΩΕΡΓΟΥΠΡΩΤΙCΤΟΥΓΟΑ	*Α
		ΕΡΓΟΥΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΙΟΥ	*ΥΝ
45		ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙΚΑΡΙΩΙCΟΛΟCΕΙΡΙΚΟΝΓΟΑ	*Φ
		ΕΡΓΟΥΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΙΟΥ	*Υ
		CΕΙΡΙΚΑΡΙΩΕΡΓΑΖΟΜΕΝΩΙC CΥΝΎΕΙ	
		ΡΙΚΑΤΡΕΦΟΜΕΝΩΗΜΕΡ	*ΚΕ
		ΙCΟΛΟCΕΙΡΙΚΟΝΑCΗΜΟΝΤΡΕΦΗΜΕ	*ΚΕ
50		ΙCΟΛΟCΕΙΡΙΚΟΝCΚΟΥΤΛΑΤΟΝ	*Μ
		ΓΕΡΔΙΑΤΡΕΦΟΜΕΝΗΕΙΜΑΤΙΟΥΠΕΞΟΥ	
		ΤΩΝΙCΠΑΡΑΔΟCΙΝΗΜΕΡ	*ΙΒ
		ΕΝΕΙΜΑΤΙΟΙCΜΟΥΤΟΥΝΗCΙ////ΗΤΟΙC	
		ΛΟΙΠΟΙC	*ΙΓ
55		ΠΕΡΙΛΑΝΑΡΙΩΝ	
		ΛΑΝΑ////ΡΙΩΕΡΓΑΖΟΜ////////	
		ΝΗCΙΑΘΑΛΑC CΙΑΤΡΕΦ////////	
		ΙCΕΡΕΑΝΤΕΡΕΝΤΕΙΝΗ////////	
		ΗΛΙΕΙΝΗΝ////////	
60		ΥΠΕΡΕΡΕΑCΔΕ	
		ΥΠΕΡΕΡΕΑCΤ	
		ΛΙΝΥΦΩΤ	
		ΤΕ	
		ΙCΕ	
65		ΠΕΡΙ	

(20 lines, and the entire lower slab, are missing.)

### COL. III.

Of Col. II. five lines which were engraved on our slab are broken away, and the lower slab (or slabs) is lost. Some of the contents of the latter are however preserved, though in a very imperfect condition, on the 'first Carystian' fragment, and are edited as *C.I.L.* XVI. 1—20, Wadd. XVI. 1—18. Then comes our Col. III. which corresponds to *C.I.L.* XVI. 21—56, Wadd. XVI. 19—66 (or possibly 67; the imperfect state of the stone at this point makes it impossible to fix the limit with accuracy). Though I say that our Col. III. corresponds to a portion of *C.I.L.* and Wadd., it will be observed, from the quantity of thick type employed in my edition, that our lines 1—35 (or more than half of the column) are practically new. In this part *C.I.L.* and Wadd. have only a few letters here and there, which it has often been difficult to equate with ours; I have nevertheless thought it worth

		Denarii.
	Ἴς χλανίδα* Μουτουνησίαν Γο α' ✕κε'	25
40	Ἴς χλανίδα* Λαδικήνην Μουτου- νήσιαν Γο α' ✕κε'	25
	Βαρβαρικαρίῳ διὰ χρυσοῦ ἐργαζομέ- νω ἔργου πρωτίστου Γο α' ✕,α'	1,000
	Ἔργου δευτερείου ✕ψν'	750
45	Βαρβαρικαρίῳ ἰς ὀλοσειρικόν Γο α' ✕φ'	500
	Ἔργου δευτερείου ✕ν'	400
	Σειρικαρίῳ ἐργαζομένῳ ἰς συνψει- ρικὰ τρεφομένῳ ἡμερ<ήσια> ✕κε'	25
	Ἴς ὀλοσειρικόν ἄσημον τρεφ<ομένῳ> ἡμε<ρήσια> ✕κε'	25
50	Ἴς ὀλοσειρικόν σκοντλῦτον ✕μ'	40
	Γερδιά τρεφομένη εἰματίου πέξου τῶν ἰς παράδοσιν ἡμερ<ήσια> ✕ιβ'	12
	Ἐν εἰματίοις Μουτουνησί[οις] ἡ τοῖς λοιποῖς ✕(ις')	16
55	§§. Περὶ λαναρίων Λαναρίῳ* ἐργαζομ[ένῳ]* Μουτου- νήσια θαλάσσια τρεφ[ομένῳ] πα' ✕μ'	40
	Ἴς ἐρέαν Τερεντεῖνη[ν]* ἡ Λαδικήνην? ἡ ἀλιεῖνην* [πα' ✕λ]	30
60	Ἐπερ ἐρέας δε[υτερερείας]* πα' ✕κ'	20
	Ἐπερ ἐρέας τ[ριτερείας]* πα' ✕ιε'	15
	Δινύφῳ τ[ρεφομένῳ] ἰς ἔργον πρω- τε[ῖον] ἡμερήσια ✕μ'	40
	Ἴς (ἐ)[ργον] δευτερεῖον τρεφομένῳ. ✕κ'	20
65	§§. Περὶ . . . . .	

(The first part of the missing portion corresponds to Wadd. XVI. 67 (or 68)—  
101, C.I.L. XVI. 57—100.)

while to indicate them where they do occur, as they are sufficient to establish the general agreement which existed between the different versions of the Edict.

As to the sources of that part of chap. XVI. in Wadd. and C.I.L. which corresponds to our Col. III., they are the 'first Carystian' fragment (Wadd. and C.I.L.) and, for the last twenty lines, the 'Theban' (C.I.L. only). Wadd.'s edition of the Carystian fragment is based on a copy by Lenormant, the edition in C.I.L. on a later copy by Köhler. The two copies differ very considerably; a careful collation of both with the readings of our own stone has proved Lenormant's copy (Wadd.) to be almost worthless. I have determined therefore to omit the collation of it from my notes, except in a few cases in which it supplies a letter or two which are absent from Köhler's copy (C.I.L.). The abbreviation 'Car.' therefore, except where '(Wadd.)' is added, may be taken as representing 'Car. (C.I.L.)', i.e. the readings of the Carystian fragment as copied by Köhler and edited in the Latin *Corpus*.



Line 1.—*Car. (C.I.L.)* [Βίρ]ῥος . . . ; (Wadd.) Βίρῥος . . . The epithet and price are absent.

The form βίρος (one ρ) is peculiar to our version. On the other hand, in I. 29, &c., we have κάρῥον (two ρ's) for *kāpon*.

Βίρος.—The 'birrus' was a woollen cloak of some kind with a hood. It was a common word under the later empire. Waddington quotes the Scholiast on Persius (i. 54), who explains 'trita lacerna' by 'birrus attritus,' and the Scholiast on Juvenal (viii. 145) who explains 'Santonicus cucullus' by 'birrus Gallicus.' Du Cange (*s.v.* birrus) should also be consulted. The 'birrus' of our inscription, if one may judge by the prices, must have been a more elaborate garment than the little cape figured in Rich, *s.v.* The word is said to be derived from an early Latin 'birrus' or 'burrus' = 'red' (cf. Greek πύρρος); but Wadd. is probably right in regarding it rather as of foreign origin.

Ῥεπήςσιος, Lat. 'Ripensis,' i.e. from the banks of the Danube. The part of Dacia, *e.g.*, which bordered on the Danube was called 'Dacia Ripensis' (Wadd.), and elsewhere the epithets 'Noricus Ripensis' occur in combination.

Line 2.—*Car. (C.I.L.)* absent entirely; (Wadd.) [Βίρ]ῥος . . . From this point ten lines are omitted in Mommsen's edition (*C.I.L.*), with the note 'Sequuntur versus decem lectionis desperatae.' These 'versus decem' correspond to our II. 2—15. But, though entirely absent from the *edition*, a few letters are extant in Kohler's *copy*, which Mommsen used (*C.I.L.* vol. iii. pt. 2, p. 821). These letters I have quoted wherever they were fairly certain, as evidence of agreement with Meg. Wadd. also has a few letters.

Βερταννικός.—Unless this word = Bruttian (*v.* Guido, *Geographica*, § 67, *Totius Orbis Descr.* 556), we probably have here the earliest mention of an import of wool or woollen goods from Britain.

Line 3.—*Car. (C.I.L.)* ///ΟΕ/ῥ///ΜΑΓΗ/Γ \*ϕ  
(Wadd.) . . . . . μαγη \**a*. This and the preceding entry are combined in Wadd.'s edition; wrongly.

Μελιτομαγήσιος (= Melitomagensis). An unknown word. I do not profess to have explained it; but Mago being one of the chief towns in the Balearic Islands, and Melita being the ancient name of Malta (as well as of another island), it is *possible* that we have here a wool produced at Malta in imitation of the Balearic (*v.* note on II. 40, 41), or a wool produced indifferently in both these places.

Lines 4, 5.—*Car. (C.I.L.)* ///ΥΥΕ///ΜΝ

///ΥΥΕ///ΜΝ \*Α  
(Wadd.) . . . . . υσε . . . . . αν

Κανυσίος.—Canusium, in Apulia, was famous for its wool; a *yellow* wool ('fulvus') was its specialty (Plin. viii. 48, 73). Suetonius records of Nero, as one example of his extravagance, that his muleteers wore Canusian, 'soleis mularum argenteis, canusinatis mulionibus' (*Nero*, 30). The following passage from Pliny (viii. 48, 73), containing a list of places famous for their wool, accords well with our inscription: 'Lana autem laudatissima Apula, et quae in Italia "Graeci pecoris" appellatur, alibi "Italica"' [I suppose these are the wools from Magna Graecia, *e.g.* the Tarentine]; 'tertium locum Milesiae oves optinent. Apulae breves villo nec nisi paenulis celebres. Circa Tarentum Canusiumque summam nobilitatem habent, in Asia vero eodem genere *Laodiceae*. Alba *Circumpadanis* [*e.g.* those of Mutina?] nulla praefertur; &c.

σημιωτός, i.e. adorned with a stripe or pattern (like *σεσημμένον*, II. 68). Or does it mean 'marked,' i.e. with a trade-mark or the like, as proof of its being genuine Canusian?

Line 6.—*Car. (C.I.L.)* ///ΡΟ/ΝΟ/ῥ///\*Γ

(Wadd.) Βίρ[ῥος] . . . . .

Νουμεδικός, 'Numidicus,' new as an epithet of woollen goods. In I. 11 we have an African birrus' which is only half as costly.

Lines 7-11.—At this point the collation becomes difficult, since our two copies of the Carystian fragment (those used in *C.I.L.* and by Wadd. respectively) diverge, not agreeing even in the number of lines. *C.I.L.* has three lines, corresponding to the number of *entries* on our stone; Wadd. has six, corresponding nearly with our number of lines. As it is impossible to equate them, line with line, I give both versions entire:—

(1) *C.I.L.* (Köhler)

///://////  
//ΤΕ////  
//////

(2) Wadd. (Lenormant)

. . . ΟΣ . . . . .  
. . ΓΟΝΠΑΝ . . .  
. . . . ΓΑΛΛ . .  
. . . ΤΙΚΗΓΥ . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .

Of all this, the only letters which can be equated with ours are Wadd.'s . . . ΟΣ, which form part of the 'Βίρος' of our l. 7. The remainder he himself equates (and it was inevitable) with a small fragment from Mylasa (*C.I.L.* vol. iii. pt. 2, p. 820), and would therefore restore as follows:—

Σά]γον Παν[νονικόν  
Σά]γον Γαλ[λικόν  
Δελμα]τική γυ[ναικεία.

This restoration, charming as it is, must be given up. The fault lies not in Waddington, but in Lenormant, who copied letters which were certainly not upon the stone. Köhler, with the same stone before him, failed altogether to see them; and so great a divergence from the Megalopolitan version at this point is out of the question, since, so soon as the inscription becomes clear—a few lines lower down—it agrees with ours.

After this point Wadd.'s readings almost entirely cease to be of service to us; I shall therefore give the readings of *C.I.L.* only, except in special cases, and 'Car.', unless otherwise stated, must be taken as = 'Car. (*C.I.L.*).' Both are from the same stone, and, where Wadd. (Lenormant) agrees with *C.I.L.* it is useless to quote them both; where they differ, *C.I.L.* is almost invariably the better copy of the two.

Lines 7, 8.—**πρώτος κάλλιστος**.—I suppose a sort of superlative of *καλλιστος*, 'first among the best,' 'A. 1'; perhaps a trade expression. Cf. *καλλίστης μέσης* in IV. 7.

Lines 12, 13.—*Car.* // ΝΑΤΑ.// ΝΔ/.

**Βάνατα**.—This, and the **βέδοξ** of the next entry (the two words are repeated in ll. 16 and 17), form one of the chief puzzles of the inscription. The probability is that both are barbarous words (perhaps Gallic or 'Noric') for over-garments of some kind. At the same time it is *possible* that they are Latin; and 'barbarous origin' is a refuge to be turned to only as a last resource. I therefore make the following conjecture, to be taken for what it is worth.

First, what we require are over-garments—coats, cloaks, or the like.

Second, though probably of wool, it is not necessary they should be of wool; transitions of this kind being common, *e.g.* IV. 12, from wools of various kinds to hare's fur. Over-garments were sometimes made of leather (*v. Mart.* xiv. 130).

Third, we have to account not only for the forms **Βάνατα** and **Βέδοξ** of our own inscription, but for the forms **Αν[α]** and **Εδοξ** of *Car.*

Now β in our inscription always represents either *b* or *v* in Latin, generally the latter.

The Latin forms therefore were probably 'vanata' and 'anata' (or 'hanata'), 'vedox' and 'edox' (or 'hedox'). It has occurred to me that the *original* forms may have been 'fanata' and 'fedox,' which would account for both the variants. The relation between *f* and *v* is obvious; the relation between *f* and *h* is well-known to philologists. Varro (*de Ling. Lat.* v. 19) gives an illustration which is very much in point. 'Edus' (more commonly spelt 'hedus' or 'haedus') is in Sabine 'fedus'; 'ircus' (= 'hircus') is in Sabine 'fircus.' It is quite *possible* therefore that the original form of our βέδοξ was 'fedox,' which has varied on the one hand to 'vedox' (βέδοξ), on the other to 'hedox' (ἔδοξ); and that it came from 'fedus' or 'hedus,' and meant 'a garment of *kid's skin*.'

Similarly the original form of βάναρα may have been 'fanata'; and since 'fannatio' (*r. Du Cange*) in late Latin meant 'fawning-time,' 'fanna,' or some such word, almost certainly = French 'faon,' our 'fawn.' If so, just as 'fedox' (hedox) may possibly come from 'fedus' and mean a 'kid-skin,' so 'fanata' (hanata) may come from 'fanna' and mean a 'fawn-skin.' I give this suggestion for what it is worth.

Νωρικὴ, *i.e.* from the province of Noricum, south of the Danube, and partly coinciding with the modern Styria.

καταβίων.—Another new word. Is it a mistake for καταβρίων, *i.e.* 'mantellus catabriatus,' an expression which is found in mediaeval Latin? 'Catabriatus' appears to be rightly interpreted as '*striped*' (*r. Du Cange*).

Lines 14, 15.—*Car.* (C.I.L.) [ΔΕ][ΚΟC] ✱;  
(Wadd.) . as . . . . . κοs ✱μύ<ρια>.

Βέδοξ.—*v.* note on ll. 12, 13.

βήλον.—Lat. 'velum,' generally = a 'curtain' or an 'awning,' here more probably a [large loose over-garment of some kind. Cicero, wishing to describe a loose, luxurious toga, compares it to a 'velum'—velis amictos, non togis' (*Cat.* ii. 10, 22), so that the change of meaning is not difficult. Later, of course, velum = 'veil.'

Line 16.—*Car.* Ἀν . . . α Γαλλική ✱ μ<ύρια>.

Line 17.—*Car.* Ἔδοξ (?) κάλλιστος ✱,η, (The ,η is taken from the *copy*). This is the only line, in the portion 1—35, which *Car.* has complete; and even here κάλλιστος is almost certainly a mistake for Γαλλικός.

Lines 18—21.—These four lines, corresponding to three in *Car.*, are there almost entirely gone. Wadd. has

✱ , δ

✱ , αξ

. . . . . ,ον ✱ , αο

all of which is almost certainly wrong.

C.I.L. has the note 'Sequuntur versus tres qui legi non potuerunt'; but Kohler's copy, which he used, proves a general agreement with our version; for it reads—

///ΓΙΑΙΩΝ////////

///Ι:ΑΤ////////

//////////

Line 18.—Σιγγιλίων.—Lat. 'singilio,' a word which occurs in Treb. Claudius (*c.* 300 A.D.), in a letter of the emperor Gallienus, 'Singiliones Dalmatenses decem,' (*Du Cange*); where others read 'cingiliones' (*Forcel.*). Elsewhere the form σιγγιλίων (= sigillio) occurs, this form arising in a false etymology from 'sigillum' (*quasi vestes sigillatae*), as the form 'cingilio' arose in a false etymology from 'cingo.' 'Singilio' should probably be connected with 'singulus,' 'simplex,' &c., and denoted a simple, as opposed either to a double or to a made-up, garment. The prices, which are comparatively low, accord well with this. The epithet 'Dalmatenses' in the passage cited suggests a tunic; but the position requires an over-garment of some kind.

Line 21.—Φρυγιάκος.—The most celebrated Phrygian wools were those from Laodicea, for which *v.* note on next line.

**Βέσσος**, 'Bessian,' *i.e.* from the Bessi, a Thracian tribe? We should rather expect **Βεσσικός**; but cf. **Ἄφρος**, l. 11 (and elsewhere).

Line 22.—*Car.* (price only) ✕, ε.

**Φαίνουλα**, should be **παίνουλα** (= paenula), as in next line. The form **φαίνουλα** is a compromise between the Lat. 'paenula' and the late Greek **φανόλη**, which bore the same meaning.

The 'paenula' was an over-garment of very thick woollen material, round in shape, and sleeveless; shorter than the toga, but long enough to cover the arms when hanging by the sides (*v.* Forcellinus, *s.v.*). Rich (*s.v.*) gives some useful references. It was used especially in wet weather; thus Galba, when asked for a 'paenula,' replied 'Non pluit, non opus est tibi; si pluit, ipse utar' (Quint. vi. 3, 66). Milo, at the time of the meeting with Clodius, is described as 'paenula *irretitus*' [the garment being sleeveless] (Cic. *pro Milone*, xx. 54).

**Λαδικήνη**, 'Laodicean.'—This is the Laodicea in *Phrygia*, famous for its wool (*v.* note on ll. 4, 5, quotation from Pliny); to be carefully distinguished from the *Syrian* Laodicea, which was celebrated for its linen (*v.* Wadd.'s note on chap. xvi. 11). The woollen materials of Laodicea were remarkable for their **χρσα κοραξή** (= 'raven-black'—Strabo xii. 7, 16), and also for their softness (**μαλακότης**). Pliny (viii. 48, 73) places them at the head of Asiatic wools.

Line 23.—*Car.* (price only) ✕, δ.

**Βαλυσείνη**.—Possibly a lengthened form of **Βαλσεινή**, *i.e.* from Balsa (Plin. iv. 21, 35), a town of Lusitania in Spain. Spanish wool occurs elsewhere in our inscription (**ἐρέας Ἀστυρκησίας**, IV. 5). As an alternative Mr. Hicks suggests that 'Venusina' (Venusia in Apulia) is intended.

Line 24.—*Car.* (price only) ✕ α μ<ύρια>, β φ.

**Φιβλατόριον**, spelt in *Car.*, where it occurs in a later passage, **φιβουλατόριον**. 'Fibulatorium' is no doubt a cloak to fasten with a buckle or buckles. It occurs in Trebellius as an epithet of 'sagum.'

**Ραιδικάνον**, from the *Rhoeti*? (cf. Hor. *Od.* iv. 4, 17; iv. 14, 15, &c.). They occupied the modern Tyrol, and bordered on the Norici, whom we know already (*v.* ll. 12, 14, 18) to have exported wool.

Line 25.—*Car.* . . . . . ον ✕, η . . .

**Τρεβερικόν**.—The Treveri, or Treviri, were a Gallic tribe, whose territory was situated between the Rhine and the Meuse. Their chief town, Augusta Trevirorum, is the modern Trier, or Trèves, on the Moselle.

Line 26.—*Car.* . . . . . ικον ✕, ε.

**Πετουβιωνικόν**.—Petovio (modern Pettau) was a town in Pannonia. Possibly, however, the reference is not to Petovio, but to Patavium (modern Padova, near Venice), which sent woollen garments, &c., in great quantities to Rome. The names were easily confused; Petovio is even called by Ptolemy (II. 15, 4) **Παταύιον**. Strabo (v. 1, 7), commenting on the flourishing condition of Patavium in his time, remarks: 'Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πεμπομένης κατασκευῆς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κατ' ἐμπορίαν, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ἐσθῆτος παντοδαπῆς, τὴν εὐανδρίαν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν.' And (v. 1, 12) '[Ἐρέαν δὲ τὴν μέσην—*i.e.* of medium roughness—φέρουσιν] 'οἱ περὶ Παταούιον, ἐξ ἧς οἱ τάπητες οἱ πολυτελεῖς, καὶ γαῖσάποι (a shaggy woollen material), καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος πάν, ἀμφίμαλλον τε καὶ ἐτερόμαλλον' (*i.e.* with shaggy nap on both sides or only on one). He goes on to say that for a softer wool Mutina had a greater repute (*v.* note on l. 39.).

Line 27.—Entirely absent from *Car.*

Line 28.—*Car.* has a portion of the price only . . ρ φ, an impossible combination. The φ alone is correct.

**Χλαμύς**, *v.* note on II. 52.

**Δαρδανική**.—Not from Dardanus in the Troad, but from the territory of the Dardani, a tribe which occupied a district to the south of the Danube, corresponding to the southern portion of the modern Servia.

Line 29.—*Car.* (the price only) ✕, ζ, an addition to our stone, on which the numeral is indistinct.

Line 30.—*Car.* (Wadd.) has the price only, ✕,δ, probably a mistake for our ✕,α; but our own numeral is not quite clear.

(*C.I.L.*) has the single letter . . α . . , the restoration of a doubtful stroke in the copy, which *may* have been the numeral. There is considerable confusion here in *C.I.L.*, this entry being in the cursive edition amalgamated with the next.

**Μάντος**,—‘Mantum’ and ‘mantellum’ are common in mediaeval Latin; generally neuter, but the masculine forms also occur. Isidorus describes it as a *short* cloak, even deriving its name from its shortness, ‘quod manus tegat tantum’ (!). Its shortness perhaps accounts for its cheapness; but it cannot have been always short, for the word is sometimes used as = pallium.

Lines 31, 32.—*Car.* . . . . . να . . . α . . . . . του . . . γικος ✕,η  
which agrees almost perfectly with our stone.

**Σάγος**.—Lat. ‘sagus’ or more commonly ‘sagum.’ Both word and garment are of barbarian origin. The ‘sagum’ was a rectangular piece of ‘shaggy’ [same word] woollen cloth, thrown over one shoulder and buckled over the other. It was worn especially by officers, common soldiers, and slaves, in place of the ‘toga’ (*v.* Rich, *s v.*, and Wadd.’s note on chap. XVI. 26).

**Ἀμβιανήσιος** = Lat. ‘Ambianensis.’—The chief town of the Ambiani—known by the name of the tribe—is the modern *Amiens*.

The present entry is probably identical with an entry in a small Latin fragment from Mylasa—the fragment which Wadd. wrongly identified with our III. 7 *sqq.* (*v.* note on III. 7—11). The entry there reads ‘Sagum Gallicum hoc est . . . octo milibus.’ Wadd. suggested ‘Atrebatium’ (*i.e.* of *Arras*) to fill the gap, ‘Atrebatia saga’ being famous. *Amiens* belongs of course to the same region.

**Βιτουρητικός**.—I suppose ‘of the Bituriges.’ Their capital, Avaricum, is the modern Bourges.

Line 33.—*Car.* . . . α . . . . ✕φ .  
α . . . . = \*Α[φρος].

34, 35.—A new heading.

*Car.* (Wadd.) ΠΕΡΙ Τ . . . . . ΤΩΝΧΗΡ . . . . .  
which Wadd. restored conjecturally Περὶ τ[ῆς ἐργασίας] τῶν σερ[ικῶν καὶ τῶν πέξων]. But Kohler’s reading (*C.I.L.*) of which the only letters given as certain are

Τ////Θ//////ΛΟΥ////  
ΤΩΝΧΗΡΙΚΑΡΙ////

proves the reading of *Car.* to have agreed in substance with our own. The first Τ should of course be Π.

**Πλουμαρίων**.—‘Plumarii’ = ‘embroiderers’; the word referred originally no doubt to some sort of ornamental feather-work, but afterwards to embroidery in general.

**Σερικαρίων**.—*Car.* reads σερικαρί[ων]. ‘Sericii’ are probably ‘silk-weavers,’ but *v.* note on l. 47.

Lines 36, 37.—*Car.* Πλουμαρίῳ ἰς στίχην σ . . . κο[ν ὁ < γκίας > α ✕]τ . . . Mommsen (*C.I.L.*) restored σ[ηρικόν].

The expression ἰς στίχην is perhaps elliptical for ἐργαζομένῳ ἰς στίχην, ‘working at (or “on”) a στίχην.’ It is used in connection with weaving (ll. 47—50, and l. 58) as well as embroidery. The full form occurs in l. 47. Ἐν εἰμαρίοις κ.τ.λ. (l. 53) must have the same sense. When the material in which the embroidery is executed is mentioned, it is with the preposition διὰ (διὰ χρυσοῦ, l. 42, where *v.* note).

στίχην, *v.* note on II. 54.

**συνψερικόν**, Lat. ‘subsericum,’ ‘half-silk’; as opposed to ὁλοσερικόν, ‘holosericum,’ ‘all silk.’ The insertion of the ν is due to false etymology, and is peculiar to our version. συνψερικόν, the reading of *Theb.* in similar passages, is more correct. *Car.* has σνψερικόν.

[Γο] α'.—For the symbol Γο *v.* note on next line. Embroidery is paid for by the ounce (Γο = ὀγκία = 'uncia') of material used. The material (silk or wool) of the embroidery varied with the material on which it was worked. Thus the charge for embroidering a woollen garment (ll. 39–41) is very much less than for embroidering on silk.

Line 38.—*Car.* ἰς στήχην [ὀλ]όσηρικόν[ν . . .] ὀ<γκίας> α ✕ τ.

ὀλοσειρικόν.—*v.* note on συνψειρικόν, ll. 36, 37.

Γο.—The symbol used in our inscription for ὀγκία or οὐγκία = Lat. 'uncia,' an 'ounce,' the *twelfth* part of a Roman pound. The Roman pound being about three-quarters of the English, it follows that the Roman ounce was almost exactly equivalent to the English ounce.

The symbol used in *Car.* is Ὢ, which must represent Οὐ. Our engraver perhaps had a similar monogram of Ὅγ before him, and misread it Γο.

Line 39.—*Car.* ἰς χλαμίδ[δ]α Μουτουνησίαν ὀ<γκίας> α ✕ κε.

Our reading χλανίδα is a distinct gain. We have done with χλαμίδες long ago (l. 29), and it is hardly likely we should return to them.

The χλανίς was a cloak of finer material than the χλαμὺς, less generally military, and worn by women as well as by men. It accords well with this that we find it made of the wool of Mutina, which was famous for its softness; *v.* next note. In shape it is said to have resembled the χλαίνα rather than the χλαμὺς, but χλαίνα itself is a somewhat vague term.

Μουτουνησίαν.—Rightly explained by Mommsen, followed by Wadd., as = 'Mutinensem.' '—ήσιος' in the inscription is the regular representative of Lat. '—ensis': *e.g.* 'Ρειπήσιος = Ripensis; 'Ανβιανήσιος = Amb'anensis; 'Αστυρκήσιος = Astur(i)censis. Mutina was famous for a *soft* wool. Strabo (v. 1, 12) says: 'Ἐρέαν δὲ τὴν μὲν μαλακὴν οἱ περὶ Μουτίνην καὶ τὸν Σκουτάναν ποταμὸν φέρουσι πασῶν πολὺ καλλίστην.' Cf. note on l. 26.

Lines 40, 41.—*Car.* (C.I.L.) ἰς χλαμίδα Λαδικήν [Μ]ουτουνησίαν ὀ<γκίας> α ✕ κε.

(Wadd.) *ibid.* but Μοτονησίαν for [Μ]ουτουνησίαν.

Λαδικήν Μουτουνησίαν, 'faite à Laodicée en imitation de celles de Modène' is Wadd.'s explanation. He compares chap. XVI 12, 'Βίβρος Λαδικηὸς ἐν ὁμοιότητι Νερβικοῦ.'

With Λαδικήν Μουτουνησίαν cf. Ταρσικαλεξανδρείων (IV. 36 *seq.*), elsewhere written Ταρσικῶν Ἀλεξανδρείων.—Παφικοὶ Ἀλεξανδρείνοι (II. 48), &c. The only question is whether Wadd.'s arrangement should not be inverted, the *second* of the two names being that which denotes the actual place of origin. It would seem more natural that the epithet by which the thing was popularly known should come first, and in intimate connection with the substantive—afterwards the corrective local epithet. This arrangement, in the case of the epithets Ταρσικοὶ Ἀλεξανδρείνοι, would also remove the difficulty which Wadd. himself feels (note on chap. XVII. 5)—the absence of any mention of linens from Egypt.

Lines 42, 43.—ἔργου πρωτίστου, *Car.* ἰπὲρ ἔργου πρωτείου. Γο α', absent from *Car.* Wadd. rightly restores it.

Βαρβαρικάριος = Lat. 'barbaricarius,' an embroiderer in gold. This was especially an Oriental art. Another word for the same thing was 'Phrygio.' διὰ χρυσοῦ.—Apparently 'with (we should say rather "in") gold.' Perhaps it was from this that the expression διδχρυσος (in one word) arose; *e.g.* Polybius, vi. 53, 7, where Mr. Shuckburgh translates rightly 'embroidered with gold.'

Line 44.—ἔργου δευτερίου.—*Car.* ἔργο[ν δ]ευτερείου.

Lines 45–64.—From l. 45 to the end of the column, we have the assistance of a fragment from Thebes (*Rhein. Mus.* 1864, pp. 610–614; *C.I.L.* vol. iii. pt. 2. p. 823). The Theban fragment has the last halves of the lines only, but it is specially valuable from our l. 56 onwards, where both *Car.* and *Meg.* are defective. I give the readings of *Theb.* from the *copy*, *C.I.L.* p. 823.

Line 45.—*Car.* [Β]αρβα[ρ]ικάρι[ος] ἰς ὀλοσηρικόν ὀ<γκίας> α' ✕ φ.

*Theb.* . . . . σειρικόν [ὕ]π[ε]ρ [ὠν]α' ✕ ψ.

όλοσειρικόν, *v.* note on ll. 36, 37, συνψειρικόν.

Line 46.—*Car.* inserts  $\delta < \gamma \kappa \iota \alpha \varsigma > \alpha'$

*Theb.* . . . . ὑπὲρ οὐ(π) α' ✕ υ'.

Line 47.—*Car.* Σηρικαρίῳ ἐργ[αζο]μένῳ εἰς συ[ψ]ηρικὸν τρεφομ[ένῳ] ἡμερήσια]. . . .

*Theb.* . . . . ο[μ]ένῳ ἰς συνψειρικόν τρε . . . ✕ κ ε

thus confirming our somewhat doubtful numeral.

Σειρικαρίῳ.—Σειρικάριος ('sericarius') is almost certainly a *weaver* in silk, not an embroiderer in silk:

(1) because the πλουμάριος of ll. 36—38 probably embroidered in silk, and it is unlikely that we should have him again under a different name.

(2) because it would be absurd to embroider upon a check background (l. 50).

(3) because if the σειρικάριος were an embroiderer, he would probably be paid, not by the day, but (like the πλουμάριος and βαρβαρικάριος) by the ounce of material employed.

ἡμερ<ήσια>, 'daily pay,' . . . a day.

τρεφομένῳ, 'in addition to his board.'

Line 49.—*Car.* εἰς for ἰς; όλοσηρικόν for όλοσειρικόν; τρεφομένῳ ἡμερήσια in full.

*Theb.* . . . . ἄσημον τ[ρεφο]μένῳ ἡμερ<ήσια> ✕ κέ.

ἄσημον, 'plain'; as opp. to σκουτλάτον in next line.

Line 50.—*Car.* εἰς όλοσηρικὸν σκουτλάτον ✕ ξ

*Theb.* . . . . κουτλά[τ]ον ✕ μ'

σκουτλάτον = Lat. 'scutlatum' or 'scutulatum,' a word which must indicate a pattern of some kind, presumably a *check*. Du Cange quotes Juv. ii. 97, 'Caerulea indutus scutulata ["a blue check"] aut galbana rasa'; and, for the meaning, Pliny viii. 48, 74 'Scutulis *dividere* Gallia' instituit].

Lines 51, 52.—*Car.* ὑπὲρ εἰματίου for εἰματίου; εἰς for ἰς; ἡμερήσια for ἡμερ<ήσια>.

*Theb.* . . . . ἐρ εἰματίου πέ[ξ]ου τῶν εἰς πα . . . ✕ ιβ

Γερδιά, 'a female weaver.'—Γέρδιος, ἰφάντης' (Suidas).

At this point we pass from silk to wool; the new heading would come much better here than at l. 55.

πέξου.—πέξος = Lat. 'pexus,' which commonly = 'with the nap on,' as opp. to 'rasus,' 'thread-bare.' Here apparently a particular *kind* of material, presumably a material with long hairy nap.

τῶν ἰς παράδοσιν.—Cf. 'τῶ[ν] εἰς παράστασιν καὶ [εἰ]ς παράδοσιν' in *Theb.* (C.I.L. chap. XVI. 58). Παράστασις = 'retail trade' (Arist. *Pol.* I. 11, 4; and *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* II. 396, where 'exhibitio' perhaps = 'exposition for sale'). Παράδοσις ('mancipatio, traditio,' *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* II. 394) may, when opposed to παράστασις, mean 'wholesale trade'; but this requires confirmation.

Lines 53, 54.—*Car.* ἐν εἰματίοις Μουτουνήσιοις ΗΤΟΙ/Σ/Ι ΠΟΙΣ τρεφομένη ✕ ι

(Wadd. here has the correct price ✕ ις).

*Theb.* . . . . (γω)νησίοις ἢ τοῖς λοιποῖς ✕ ις

There is no trace of a lost τρεφομένη on our stone.

ἐν εἰματίοις κ.τ.λ.—*v.* note on ἰς στίχην, l. 36.

Line 55.—Περὶ λαναρίων.—The heading occurs neither in *Car.* nor in *Theb.* It by no means adds to the clearness of the inscription, the real transition occurring not here, but at the female weaver (γερδιά) of l. 51.

Lines 56, 57.—*Car.* Δ . . . ἀρ . . . ζομένῳ Μουτουνῇ . . . . . κατρεφομένῳ λί<τρα> α' ✕ μ

(Wadd.'s 'Αα<δικηνά>' arose from his mistaking Α Α [= λίτρα α'] for the beginning of a word.)

*Theb.* . . . . νησία ἢ [θ]αλάσσια τρεφο . . . ✕ μ'

thus filling a gap in *Car.*, confirming *Meg.* in the main, but distinguishing Μουτουνήσια from θαλάσσια by interposing the conjunction ἢ.

Θαλάσσια.—Were this the only place where the word occurred, I should suggest that it indicated *colour* [θαλάσσιος or θαλάττιος = αλουργός; *v.* Sophocles' *Leuicon*]. But in

IV. 11, it appears to indicate a special *kind* of wool. May it have been a wool coming from some district over sea, and commonly known as 'Iana Marina' or *ἐρέα θαλάσσια*? Or, better still, from some district on the sea-shore! for Pliny (xxxi. 6. 33) tells us that sea-water was good for the fleeces of sheep, softening the wool.

If our reading (without the *η*) is correct, *Μουτουνήσια θαλάσσια* = *θαλάσσια* made in imitation of *Μουτουνήσια*, or *vice versa* (*v.* note on ll. 40, 41).

Lines 58, 59.—*Car.* . . . . *τείνην* . . . *ικη* . . . . . *ην* (✕ λ)

*Theb.* . . *ην ἡ Λαδικήνην ιαρ* . . . . ✕ λ'

The whole of my restoration therefore comes from *Car.* or *Theb.* *Meg.* adds the beginning and end of the line. The *η* . . . *η* thus arrived at is rather suspicious, and one is inclined to conjecture that *ἡ Λαδικήνην* may have been absent from *Meg.*; but (except by assuming an unusually large break in the stone) it is impossible to fill the necessary space without it. As an alternative it might be suggested that, though our *ἡ ἀλειίνην* is quite clear, the *η* is a mistake, and that the true reading is *ἡ Λαδικήνην ἀλειίνην*. Then, if *ἀλειίνην* = 'marinam,' the reference might be to the *Syrian* Laodicea, Laodicea 'ad Mare'; but the weak point in this is that we have no evidence for an export of woollen goods from the Syrian Laodicea.

*Τερεντέινην*.—For the wool of Tarentum *v.* note on ll. 4, 5 (quotation from Pliny).

Line 60.—From here to the end *Car.* is illegible. The copy used by Wadd. has indeed, in the next five lines, the letters—

. . Λ . . Δ . . . . &c.

. . HXH . . . . . &c.

. . . . . &c.

. . . . . ΑΛ . . . &c.

. . . . . ΗΟ . . . &c.

which, if correct, would argue a divergence from our stone. But, as before stated, this copy is utterly unreliable; so that these letters, and Wadd.'s attempted restoration, must be given up.

On the other hand *Theb.* and *Meg.* here supplement each other, the former supplying the second half, the latter the first half, of the lines. In the present line (60) *Theb.* reads—

. . . . . *δευτ]ερείας ὑπὲρ λ. α' ✕ κ'*

I have omitted *ὑπὲρ* in my restoration of *Meg.*, so as to make it accord with other lines.

Line 61.—*Theb.* . . . . *τριτ]ερείας ὑπὲρ λ. α' ✕ ιε'*

Lines 62, 63.—*Theb.* . . . *ε]ῖς ἔργον πρωτείον ἡμέρ ✕ μ'*

The *λινύφος* is somewhat out of his place.

Line 64.—*Theb.* . . . *ον τρεφομένω ✕ κ'.* Mommsen (*C.I.L.*) hit on the true restoration, now confirmed by *Meg.* In these 5 lines (60-64) the dove-tailing of *Meg.* and *Theb.* is almost perfect.

Line 65.—This line began a new section. The heading appears to have been peculiar to *Meg.*; for l. 19 in *Theb.*, which would otherwise correspond with our l. 65, reads . . . . . *νης ✕ ν'*,—an entry and a price.



## COL. IV.

1-50 New.

ΕΡΕΑΣΤΕΡΕΝΤ///ΕΙΝΗΣΠΕΠΛΥ  
 ΜΕΝΗΣ 7A \*ΡΟΕ  
 ΕΡΕΑΣΛΑΔΙΚΗΝΗΣΠΕΠΛΥΜΕ  
 ΝΗΣ 7A \*ΡΝ  
 5 ΕΡΕΑΣΑΣΤΥΡ///ΚΗΣΙΑΣΠΕΠΛΥ  
 ΜΕΝΗΣ 7A \*Ρ  
 ΕΡΕΑΣΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΗΣΜΕΣΗΣΠΕΠΛΥ  
 ΜΕΝΗΣ 7A \*Ν  
 ΤΗΣΛΟΙΠΗΣΠΑΣΗΣΕΡΕΑ//ΣΠΕΠΛΥ  
 10 ΜΕΝΗΣ 7A \*ΚΕ  
 ΕΡΕΑΣΘΑΛΑΣΣΙΑΣΝΩΤΙ///ΑΙΑΣ 7A \*  
 ΕΡΕΑΣΛΑΓΕΙΑΣΜΙΓΗΣ 7A \*Ρ  
 ΕΡΕΑΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ 7A \*ΡΝ  
 ΕΡΕΑΣΤΡΕΒΑΤΙΚΗΣ 7A \*C  
 15 ΠΕΡΙΛΙΝΟΥ  
 ΛΙΝΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣΤΟΥΠΙΟΥ  
 ΠΡΩΤ ΦΩΡ 7A \*ΚΔ  
 ΦΩΡ ΔΕΥΤ 7A \*Κ  
 ΦΩΡ Ξ 7A \*ΙΞ  
 20 ΟΠΟΙΟΝΕΙΔΟΣΛΙΝΟΥΠΟΤΕΙΜΗΣ  
 ΟΥΚ ΥΠΕΡ///ΗCΕΤΑΙΠΙΠΡΑΚCΕΜΕΝΟΝ  
 ΤΗΝΩΡΙCΜΕΝΗΝΤΕΙΜΗΝΥΠΟ///  
 ΦΩΡ Α 7A \*,Δ//  
 ΦΩΡ Β 7A \*,ΓΞ  
 25 ΦΩΡ Γ 7A \*ΩΜ  
 ΛΙΝΟΥΤΡ///ΑΧΥΤΕΡΟΥΙCΧΡΗΣΙΝΙΔΙΩΤΩ//  
 ΤΕΚΑΙΦΑΜΕΛΙΑΡΙΚΩΝ  
 ΦΩΡ Α 7A ////  
 ΦΩΡ Β 7A \*,//  
 30 ΦΩΡ Γ 7A \*//  
 CΤΙΧΩΝΑCΗΜΩΝCΚΥΤΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΝΩΝ  
 ΦΩΡ ΑΙCΤ Α \*,Ζ  
 ΤΑΡCΙΚΩΝΙCΤΟC Α \*,//  
 ΒΙΒΛΙΩΝ ΙCΤΟC Α \*,Ε  
 35 ΑΔΙΚΗΝΩΝΙCΤΟC Α \*,ΔΦ  
 ΤΑΡCΙΚΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΝΩΝΙCΤΟC Α\*,Δ  
 ΦΩΡΒCΚΥΤΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΝΩΝΙCΤΟC Α\*,Ξ  
 ΤΑΡCΙΚΩΝ ΙCΤΟC Α \*,/

COL. IV.				Denarii.
	Ἑρέας Τερεντείνης πεπλυ-			
	μένης πα	✕ροε	175	1-50 New. Comes between XVI and XVII. of Wadd and C.I.L.
	Ἑρέας Λαδικήνης πεπλυμέ-			
	νης πα	✕ρν	150	
5	Ἑρέας Ἀστυρκησίας πεπλυ-			
	μένης πα	✕ρ	100	
	Ἑρέας καλλίστης μέσης πεπλυ-			
	μένης πα'	✕ν	50	
	Τῆς λοιπῆς πάσης ἐρέας πεπλυ-			
10	μένης πα	✕κε	25	
	Ἑρέας θαλασσίας νωτιαίας πα	✕.		
	Ἑρέας λαγείας μιγῆς πα	✕ρ	100	
	Ἑρέας Ἀρείας πα	✕ρν'	150	
	Ἑρέας Τρεβατικής πα'	✕σ'	200	
15	§§. Περὶ λίνου			
	§. Λίνου τοῦ καλουμένου στουπίου			
	(1) πρῶτ<ης> φῶρ<μης> πα'	✕κδ'	24	
	(2) Φῶρ<μης> δευτ<έρας> πα'	✕κ'	20	
	(3) Φῶρ<μης> (γ')	πα' ✕ι,ς'	16	
20	§. Ὅποιον εἶδος λίνου π[ό]σης τειμῆς			
	οὐκ ὑπερ[β]ήσεται πιπρασκ(όμ)εν(ον)			
	τὴν ὠρισμένην τειμὴν (ύ)πο . . .			
	(1) Φῶρ<μῆς> α'	πα' ✕,δ'	4,000	
	(2) Φῶρ<μης> β'	πα' ✕,γξ'	3,060	
25	(3) Φῶρ<μης> γ'	πα' ✕ωμ'	840	
	§. Λίνου τραχυτέρου ἰς χρήσιν ἰδιωτῶ[ν]			
	τε καὶ φαμελιαρικῶν			
	(1) Φῶρ<μης> α'	πα' [✕].		
	(2) Φῶρ<μης> β'	πα' ✕.		
30	(3) Φῶρ<μης> γ'	πα' ✕.		
	§. (1) Στιχῶν ἀσήμεων Σκυτοπολειτάνων			
	φῶρ<μης> α' ἰστ<ὸς> α'	✕,ζ'	7,000	
	Ταρσικῶν ἰστὸς α'	✕.		
	Βιβλίων ἰστὸς α'	✕,ε'	5,000	
35	Λαδικήνων ἰστὸς α'	✕,δφ'	4,500	
	Ταρσικαλεξανδρείνων ἰστὸς α'	✕,δ'	4,000	
	(2) Φῶρ<μης> β' Σκυτοπολειτάνων ἰστος α'	✕,ς'	6,000	
	Ταρσικῶν ἰστὸς α'	✕.		

	BIBΛΙΩΝ	ΙCΤOC	A	✱///
40	ΛΑΔΙΚΗΝΩΝ	ΙCΤOC	A	✱///
	ΤΑΡCΙΚΑΛΕΞ///	ΑΝΔΡΕΙΝΩΝ	ΙCΤOC	A ✱///
	ΦΩΡCΚΥΤΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΝΩΝ	ΓΙCΤOC	A	///
	ΤΑΡCΙΚΩΝ	ΙCΤ///	OC	A
	BIBΛΙΩΝ	ΙCΤ///	OC	A
45	ΛΑΔΙΚΗΝΩΝ	ΙCΤ///		
	ΤΑΡCΙΚΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΝΩΝ	ΙCΤ///		
	CΤΙΧΩΝ	CΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΩΝ		
	ΦΩΡ	A		
	ΦΩΡ	B		
50	ΦΩΡ	Γ		

(The remainder is missing.)

#### COL. IV.

Col. III. dealt with garments of various kinds, and with the wages paid for weaving and for embroidery. Twenty lines of that column, written on the upper slab, are lost, and the whole of the lower slab (or slabs); but a great part of the matter inscribed on the lower slab is preserved elsewhere, partly on the Carystian and partly on the Theban stone. The portion preserved contains two new headings, *Περὶ τειμῆς τῶν σηρικῶν*, and *Περὶ Πορφύρας*, and forms Wadd.'s Chap. XVI. 67 (or 68) –101 (*C.I.L.* XVI. 57–100). Then comes our Col. IV., which is entirely new, and should be inserted before Chap. XVII. of Wadd. and *C.I.L.* which (with probably a small gap only) forms its continuation.

Col. IV. deals with raw materials (wool and flax), and manufactured materials (linen) not yet made up into garments. In l. 1 we find ourselves in the middle of a section *Περὶ Ἐρέας*, which must have begun somewhere near the end of the bottom slab of Col. III.

Line 1.—*Τερεντένης*.—*v.* note on III. 58, 59.

7.—*v.* note on II. 20–22.

Line 3.—*Λαδικήνης*.—The Laodicea in Phrygia;—*v.* note on III. 22.

Line 5.—*Ἀστυρκησίας*.—*Ἀστυρκήσιας* = Asturicensis. Asturia was a province of Hispania Tarraconensis; Asturica, its capital. It was famous for its breed of horses ('Asturco' = an Asturian horse). So far as I am aware, this is the first mention of its wool.

Line 7.—*καλλίστης μέσης*,—'medium best,' 'A. 2'; cf. III. 7, 8, *πρώτος κάλλιστος*, and note.

Line 11.—*θαλασσίας*.—*v.* note on III. 56, 57.

*νοτιαίας*.—A word of doubtful meaning. On the Latin fragment from Mylasa is the entry '*Strictoria leporina* (d)urs . . .' Mommsen conjectured '*dorsnalis*'—a restoration which, in view of our *νοτιαίας*, may be regarded as certain. But Wadd.'s explanation 'to wear on the back' (I suppose that to be his meaning; note on Chap. XVI. 27) is impossible,—first, because it would be impossible to wear a '*strictoria*' (a tight-fitting garment) on the back only; and secondly because, as now appears, the epithet was applicable to *materials* as well as to garments. This being so, the only possible explanation, though not altogether satisfactory, is 'from the back of the animal,'—*i.e.* the wool taken from the back and not from all parts indiscriminately.

Line 12.—*Ἐρέας λαγείας μυγῆς*,—'mixed hare's fur.' *Ἐρέα λάγεια* = '*lana leporina*,' for which *v.* Lewis and Short, *s.v.* 'lana.'

The insertion of this entry in the midst of *wools* in the ordinary sense of the word is

	Βιβλίων ἰστὸς α'	✕ .
40	Λαδικήνων ἰστὸς α'	✕ .
	Ταρτικάλεξανδρείνων ἰστὸς α'	✕ .
(3)	Φώρ<μης> Σκυτοπολειτάνων γ' ἰστὸς α'	[✕ .]
	Ταρσικῶν ἰστὸς α'	[✕ .]
	Βιβλίων ἰστὸς α'	[✕ .]
45	Λαδικήνων ἰστ[ὸς α'	✕ .]
	Ταρσικαλεξανδρείνων ἰστ[ὸς α'	✕ .]
§.	Στιχῶν στρατιωτικῶν . . . . .	
(1)	Φώρ<μης> α' [ἰστὸς α'	✕ .]
(2)	Φώρ<μης> β' [ἰστὸς α'	✕ .]
50	(3) Φώρ<μης> γ' [ἰστὸς α'	✕ .]

(After an interval, probably short, comes Chap. XVII. of Wadd. and C.I.L.)

curious. But cf. the transition, in the section Περὶ Πλούμου (Col. II.), from 'down' proper to 'willow-down' (πλοῦμος ἀπὸ ἐλίκης).

μυγῆς,—I suppose 'mixed,' *i.e.* not all of one colour. L. and S. give one example of *μυγῆς* (nom. sing.) for *μικτός*; but *μυγὸς* is, I think, without precedent.

Line 13.—*Ἀρείας*.—This word is a puzzle. I suppose it should be written with a capital 'A'. The province Aria, to the East of Parthia,—its capital Alexandria Ariana, the modern Herât,—is spelt in Greek both 'Ἀρία and 'Ἀρεία, and the people are called \**Ἀρειοί*; but to connect this region with our 'Ἀρειος, in the absence of any evidence for an export of wools from this quarter, must be regarded as pure conjecture.

Line 14.—*Τρεβατικῆς*,—no doubt for 'Ἀτρεβατικῆς.—The Atrebatres were a Belgic tribe, their capital the modern Arras. Their woollen garments were famous;—'vestes Atrebatum,' 'χλαμύδες Ἀτραβαττικαί,' 'Atrebatica saga';—*v.* Wadd.'s note on Chap. XVI. 26.

Line 15.—Περὶ Λίνου.—A new section,—Flax and Linen. ll. 15–30 deal with the former (the raw material), l. 31–end with the latter. The former, like the raw wool, is sold by weight, the latter by measure.

Line 16.—Στουπίου,—'tow'; the fibres of the flax-stalk in their least prepared form. The common form of the word is *στύπη*, 'stuppa.'

Line 17.—*πρώτ<ης> φώρ<μης>*.—*v.* note on II. 12.

Line 19.—The form  $\nabla$  may perhaps be a  $\Gamma$  (= *τρίτης*) combined with a break in the stone.

Lines 20–22.—The order of the words is rather involved—*πιπρασκόμενον* should follow *τειμῆς*. The meaning is 'What kind of flax, when sold at what price, will not exceed the price prescribed,'—a sort of preamble to the three lines which follow. The formula may be compared with one which occurs in Chap. XVII. of Wadd. and C.I.L., which forms a continuation of our Col. IV.—'ἄτερ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς γ. φώρ<μης> τῆς προειρημένης ἔστιν καταδεστέρα, ἐν πλείοσιν μέντο[ι] κατασκευάζεται, τίνος τειμᾶς ὑπερβαίνειν μηδενὶ ἐξὸν εἶναι,'—and then follow, as here, the three qualities, the quantity, and the price.

The last word in l. 22 is partly illegible. Mr. Gardner, who has independently examined it for me, sees traces of *ὑπόλινον*, and suggests that it may mean 'under the head of Flax'; but I am unable to satisfy myself of the reading.

Lines 24, 25.—Though the numerals on the stone are quite clear, I suspect an error on the part of the engraver, these two being the only *irregular* numbers in the inscription.

Lines **26, 27**.—*ἰδιωτῶν*,—‘common people’; *φανελαρικῶν*, ‘slaves.’ *v.* Wadd.’s note on Chap. XVII. 29, and *cf.* *ἰδιωτικόν*, ‘common,’ in I. 58, and my note there.

Line **31**.—*Στιχῶν ἀσήμων κ.τ.λ.*—At this point we pass from the raw to the manufactured material; not, as might appear at first sight, to the garments themselves,—this is proved by the measure of length (*ἰστός α'*) which forms part of each entry. The use of the name of the garment for the material is compared by Wadd. (introductory note on Chap. XVII.) to our English expression ‘shirtings.’

From this line, 31, to l. 46, the inscription deals with materials for a single garment, the *στίχη* (= ‘strictoria’), which was explained (II. 54, note) as a tight-fitting tunic. In III. 36–38 it was of silk, or half-silk; here, of linen. The linen is divided into three ‘classes’ or ‘qualities’ (*φῶρμαι*; *v.* note on II. 12), each quality again into five subdivisions, according to the locality from which the material came,—Scyt(h)opolis, Tarsus, Biblus, Laodicea (in Syria), Alexandria (in imitation of those of Tarsus; or *vice versa*,—*v.* note on III. 40, 41). The Biblus (Byblus) is certainly that in Syria, not in Egypt; and if, as Wadd. thinks, the *Ταρσικαλεξανδρείνοι* were made in *Tarsus*, not Alexandria, then *all* the kinds of linen mentioned are Syrian. Wadd. quotes appropriately from the ‘Totius Orbis descriptio’ (author unknown) the following list of Syrian towns which exported linen goods: ‘In linteamina sunt hae, Scitopolis, Ladicia, Biblus, Tirus, Beitus [= ‘Berytus,’ modern Beirût], quae linteamen omni orbi terrarum emittunt, et sunt habundantia.’

Lines **31, 32**.—The order of words in the first two lines is slightly irregular, thus obscuring the classification. The order should be

*Στιχῶν ἀσήμων φώρμης α'*  
*Σκυτοπολειτάνων ἰστός α'*  
*Ταρσικῶν ἰστός α'*  
*κ.τ.λ.*

*ἰστός*,—properly a ‘loom,’ is here a measure of length. Probably it was the amount commonly worked on the loom in a single piece; *ἰστός α'* may therefore be translated ‘one piece’ or ‘one length.’ To judge from the prices, it was no small quantity.

Line **47**.—*Στιχῶν στρατιωτικῶν*.—These are of three qualities, but only one *kind* of linen; as the garment was part of the military outfit, probably the *kind* of material was prescribed.

After line **50** thirty-five lines of the slab are broken away, and the inscription comes to an end. The thread of it is taken up again, probably after no long interval, by a stone from Geronthrae, which is edited as Chap. XVII. of Wadd. and *C.I.L.* The Geronthraean inscription (‘Tabula Geronthraea Tertia’) opens with a classification of *δελματικά* (*v.* note on II. 67–69) similar to that of *στίχαι* in Col. IV. of *Mey.*

WILLIAM LORING.

## ORPHIC MYTHS ON ATTIC VASES.

THE accompanying cut represents the painting upon a hydria in the British Museum (No. E 818). The design, in red figures, covers the body of the vase, which apparently dates from early in the fourth century B.C., and stands 32 mètres high; the glaze is of that semi-iridescent character which



marks the Attic vases of this time, and the red figures are smeared with ruddle and show the original sketch marks very plainly. It was found in excavations in Rhodes in 1880, outside a tomb at the site named in Mr. Biliotti's *Diary Cazviri*; unfortunately the circumstances of the find do not

<sup>1</sup> Biliotti's *Diary*. Cazviri. March 11. 1880. No. 43. 'Discovered a sharply vaulted tomb; found outside,

'1 Hydria black glaze painted with three red figures; not very fine specimen however, as the figures are rather roughly done.

1 alabastron.

1 glass bottle with three coloured stripes.

1 lekythus with ornaments.

1 same with one handle, very common.

1 fragment of stone, perhaps part of a tool.'

assist us in determining more accurately the date; but it may be taken as of certainly Athenian fabric, and probably of the date above stated.

At first sight the curiously rough and hasty style of the drawing suggests a caricature; while however this peculiarity is evidently intentional, I do not think that the artist intended a caricature in our sense of the word; as to this I shall have to speak presently; but first, as to the subject.

We see a group of three principal figures. The central one is a bearded man who faces the spectator, dressed in a short chiton girt at the waist; over this is a long cloak decorated with horizontal patterns, including a double band of ivy or vine leaves, and fastened by two flaps knotted on the chest; on his head is a cap which hangs down the back and has a separate flap on each shoulder. With his right hand he raises to his mouth—obviously with the intention of eating—the limb of a dead boy which he has torn from the body that he holds on his left arm. The dead child is quite naked, and its long hair hangs down from the head which falls loosely backward; the lifeless



character of the figure is well brought out, in spite of the general sketchiness of the drawing.

On the left advances a figure who is also bearded, and who expresses his surprise at the sight of the central scene by the gesture of his left hand; his long wavy hair, wreathed with vine or ivy, and the thyrsos in his right hand mark him at once as Dionysos. He wears a succinct talaric chiton decorated with vertical stripes.

On the right a bearded personage, attired in the same way as the central figure, runs away to the right, looking back, and extending his left arm as if in surprise. In his right hand he carries a long staff. Part of this figure has been broken away in the only damage which the vase has undergone, but fortunately no important part seems to be wanting.

The dress which distinguishes the two right-hand figures is that which in Greek art is invariably used to characterise the inhabitants of Thrace. Thus it is worn for instance by the Thracian Boreas on a vase of this period in the

British Museum, No. F 154 (Gerhard, *A. V.* iii. pl. 152, fig. 3); but perhaps the best instance for our purpose is the Naples krater, *Musco Borb.*, Tom. ix. Tav. xii. The figures are there arranged in two friezes around the body of the vase; in the upper frieze we have (i.) Orpheus wearing an himation seated on a rock playing upon the lyre in the midst of four Thracian men dressed precisely like our figures, and who listen in attitudes of attention and approval; (ii.) Orpheus, as before, leading two Thracian men to the left: on either side a horse. In the lower frieze is the same figure of Orpheus pursued by five Thracian women who threaten him with various weapons, a large pestle, a spit, bipennis, &c. It is remarked on this vase by Heydemann<sup>1</sup> that Orpheus is here distinguished by his Greek costume, just as Pausanias (*Phok.* 30, 3) notices of him in the Delphic picture by Polygnotos: 'Ἑλληνικὸν δὲ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστι τῷ Ὀρφεῖ, καὶ οὔτε ἡ ἐσθῆς οὔτε ἐπίθημά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ Θράκιον. This ἐσθῆς and ἐπίθημα have been identified by Dilthey<sup>2</sup> as the ζειρά and the ἀλωπεκῇ which Herodotos<sup>3</sup> mentions as worn by Thracians on their campaigns; and Xenophon<sup>4</sup> notices the same fact, explaining why foxes' skins were worn by them on the head, and particularly alluding to the fact that the chiton was worn, not only around the breast, but also around the thighs, that is to say, longer than the usual Greek male attire, but yet not talaric. We may conclude therefore from the dress of the two right-hand characters of our scene, that these are intended to represent Thracians.

We have thus before us the devouring of a boy by a Thracian, in the presence of Dionysos and a second Thracian who flees in terror.

The episode of a child torn to pieces and devoured occurs very rarely in Greek mythology; the banquet of Thyestes, and that of the gods with Tantalus when they ate his son Pelops are of course inapplicable to the present case, as there is no question in either of those myths of conscious and deliberate anthropophagy: neither is Dionysos a leading figure in these dramas. There remains only the episode of the devouring of the infant Zagreus by the Titans, and this must be the subject represented on our vase.

This episode was one of the most characteristic legends connected with the mystic-orgiastic Thracian cult which in Athens took root in the form of the Orphic mysteries. The central conception of the Orphic cult was Dionysos in his varying forms; and considering his presence here, and the Thracian colouring that is given to the scene by the dress of the other two figures, I think we may without hesitation identify the subject as the devouring of Zagreus. If so, we have here what is I believe the first recorded instance of an intrinsically Orphic scene in Attic art,<sup>5</sup> treated in a way which offers some

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1868, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Annali dell' Inst.* 1867, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. vii. 75. Θρήικες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀλωπεκῆς ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ζειράς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας...

<sup>4</sup> *Anab.* vii. 4. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Pauly, *Real-Encycl.* s.v. *Liber Patris*, iv. p.

1022, refers to a representation of this same scene in Gerhard A. B. taf. 70, but I cannot find the publication he refers to; it is apparently not *Antike Bildwerke* nor *Ausclesene Vasenbilder*. The statement above is of course exclusive of the two familiar types, of Orpheus playing to or destroyed by Thracians; and Orpheus in Hades.



interesting points of divergence from the Orphic traditions, as we know them.

The moving principle of the Thracian legend was the dogma of the immortality of the soul; the early localization of this idea in Thrace is set forth in various passages from Herodotos.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, most of our knowledge of the Orphic doctrines is drawn from such late authorities as Nonnus and Clemens, in whose narratives there is an obvious jumble of the Theogony of Hesiod and other unknown Theogonies with that of the Orphic sect. The discoveries at Sybaris and the inscribed tablets found there,<sup>2</sup> together with the Petelia tablet in the British Museum, speak for the prevalence of the cult in Southern Italy during the third century B.C. And still more recently, the discoveries at the Theban Kabirion and Kern's researches therein<sup>3</sup> have shown that Orphic influences emanating from Athens were affecting Boeotia at any rate towards the end of the fifth century B.C. But of the existence of Orphic art types at Athens we have hitherto had no direct evidence.

In the cosmogony of the Orphic teaching, there are the two great cosmic elements, Zeus, the omnipotent all in all, and his daughter Kore, who combines in her personality the characteristic features of Persephone, Artemis, and Hekate; from the union of Zeus in serpent form with Kore, Zagreus is born, and to him, essentially in his character of *χθόνιος*, the kingdom is given of this world. Zagreus is the allegory of the life and death and resurrection of Nature; in the generally accepted version, he is brought up as the Zeus-child, and from fear of Hera is sent on earth to be warded by the Kouretes. Hera sends the Titans, who surprise Zagreus at play, tear him in pieces, and eat him, all except the heart. Zeus destroys the Titans with his thunderbolts, and out of their ashes the human race is born. Since the Titans had swallowed Zagreus, a spark of the divine element for ever permeates the human system. The heart is carried by Athene to Zeus, who either gives it to Semele in a potion or swallows it himself, and thus is born another Zagreus, the "younger Dionysos," *ὁ νέος Διόνυσος*. It is evident that Zagreus is simply another form of Dionysos, *ὁ χθόνιος Διόνυσος* (*Etym. Mag.*, p. 213), representing him in the phase preceding his death and resurrection.<sup>4</sup>

In this narrative, we are struck by the startling parallel which is presented to the main features of the Christian Theogony. We have an omnipotent God the Father, who with his Son, begotten of a virgin (Kore), is one person and all in all; (the serpent, as in Paradise, playing a part in the beginning of things); the son is sent on earth where he has to suffer and to die for the salvation of the human race, and in order to be born again. No wonder that the early Christian Fathers found occasion to be shocked at some of the elements in the story! It is only natural to suppose that this form at least of the Zagreus legend must be post-Christian, and must owe some of its

<sup>1</sup> Toepffer, *Alt. Germ.* p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *J. H. S.* vol. iii. p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> *Hermes*, 1890, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 547 &c. For the various versions of the resurrection myth see Frazer's *Golden Bough*, vol. i, p. 324.

details to artificial assimilation to the Christian religion. What the amount of this obligation was, it is difficult to define; probably each locality in which the Orphic cult took effect had added elements borrowed from its own local cult; at Thebes and Lemnos for instance it came under the influence of different forms of the Kabiric myth; at Athens, later on, under that of the Eleusinian mysteries. For the original Attic form of the Zagreus legend we may probably accept at any rate the Thracian elements of Dionysos and Semele,<sup>1</sup> the Titans, and Zeus. In any case, we need not be surprised if an Attic vase like ours should differ in point of detail from the latest form of the story.

In the Orphic dogma, the number of Titans who tore Zagreus to pieces was seven; probably in keeping with the old Egyptian idea of the young Osiris torn by Typhon into seven (or twenty-one) pieces.<sup>2</sup> In our vase the act is performed by a single Titan; the second Titan distinctly has no part in the act, and hurries away as if in horror; whether this emotion is caused by the central action, or by the appearance of Dionysos on the scene, is left uncertain. I am at a loss to explain the presence of this second Titan, unless perhaps it refers to an episode in the story of which we have no record. In any case, it shows, I think, that the devouring Titan is alone in this version, and that he does not stand with our vase-painter (as he might otherwise be supposed to do) for the entire seven. It is possible that he represents, by a familiar process of prolepsis, the terror of the Titans at the avenging wrath of Zeus; this is in some measure, by a similar prolepsis, indicated by the presence of Dionysos; in that case the picture is, in its way, a sort of trilogy of three acts combined in one: (1) the devouring of Zagreus, (2) the (impending) destruction of the Titans, and (3) the outcome of it all, the new Dionysos. Such methods of combining successive moments are, of course, common enough in vase-paintings, and the intention of the artist would doubtless be clear to any one familiar with the mystic *δρώμενα*, the mystery-plays which must have supplied the artist with his types.

The Zagreus legend in its various forms was widespread throughout the Hellenic world; its elements appear more or less reflected in the various seats of the Kabiric religion, in the form already referred to of the Korybantian myth, in Thessalonike, Macedonia, Samothrace and Lemnos, in the Cybele, Kadmilos, and Attis legends. It is not my purpose here to handle the tangled web of comparative mythology. I only wish to signalize the interest of this vase as affording direct evidence of the form in which it existed at Athens.

In his article on the discoveries at the Kabirion at Thebes, Kern drew attention to the fact that the Kabiric cult was essentially Oriental, and was never really at home in Hellas; that in each locality it was closely inter-

<sup>1</sup> See Kretschmer in *Aus der Anomia*, p. 17, for the Phrygian-Thracian origin of the names Dionysos and Semele.

<sup>2</sup> In the Etruscan form of the parallel Kabiric legend, which is represented on an engraved

mirror published by Gerhard (16th *Winkelmannsfeiertprogramm*), there are two winged and bearded Kabiri who tear a boy to pieces; and in the parallel story of the Korybantes there are two who thus destroy the third, their brother.

woven with a pre-existing cult, such as that of Hephaistos at Lemnos, Hermes-Kadmilos at Samothrake, and Dionysos (as the Kabirion vases show) at Thebes.

At Athens the leading threads of the Kabiric story are represented in the rhapsodic theogony of Orpheus, which we know to have existed there at least as early as the sixth century B.C., and to have been written for Athenians. It may be regarded as strange that so little evidence of this influence shows itself in the Attic art types of the sixth or fifth centuries. Probably, as Kern suggests, the answer is to be found in the fact that at Athens the Orphic doctrine as a whole had never taken a firm hold upon the popular conviction; that whereas at Thebes it transformed the whole Dionysos cult, at Athens, Zagreus-like, its teaching was dispersed and scattered in fragments broadcast among the various local myths and beliefs; such separate existence as it had, was confined probably to a small sect drawn mostly from the lower classes. But that it had this existence, even in art, we are shown by the evidently Athenian inspiration of the art types of the Theban Kabirion; these examples date from the end of the fifth century B.C.,<sup>1</sup> and our vase cannot be much later.

This leads us to another question, the peculiar character of the drawing in our vase. I think the closest parallel in this case also is to be found in the Kabirion vases. In these vases there is a strange mixture of the solemn and dignified with the ribald and grotesque, which shows as a studied effect through all the evident unskilfulness of the artists. Precisely the same mixed character is traceable in the elements of the Orphic mysteries themselves; the most solemn conceptions are here interwoven with a thread of burlesque, wherein such personifications as Iambe and Baubo occur. The Titans who snare the infant Zagreus to his tragical end avail themselves of a variety of children's toys, and even, according to one version, smear their faces with black. It is evident in all this that the dramatic instinct is strongly marked; as indeed was only natural in the cult of a god who was the special patron of the drama. The whole story is dramatic in the highest degree, and the admixture of comedy only served to point the final tragedy.

There is, however, one use to which comedy has always been applied beyond that of merely causing merriment either as an end in itself or as a subjective adjunct to tragedy. I mean that of representing subjects which are unfitted for direct representation either by popular or personal feeling. Aristophanes in the *Equites* could attack Kleon with a license which would have been impossible outside the sphere of comedy; the relation of the mediaeval jester to the king that he served is a parallel case; and so the most powerful or the most sacred could be rendered on the comic stage as it would have been impossible to render them elsewhere. But in early times, and

<sup>1</sup> The Theban vases are black-figured; since we can hardly imagine black-figured vases being made at Athens as late as the end of the fifth century, it may be that the origin of the Theban type may date back perhaps a half century

earlier; in a class of ware specially destined for a temple the style of black figures in which it had started would be kept up by a hieratic conservatism; the Panathenaic amphorae at Athens are an obvious parallel.

especially amongst an uneducated audience, the grotesque rendering of a religious subject need not necessarily have rendered that subject ridiculous. So that it may be that we must regard the grotesque drawing of our vase from this point of view. The artist was in all probability drawing for a limited circle of the initiated, to whom nothing would be more unseemly than the suspicion of ridicule cast on one of the most sacred tenets of their religious faith.

The sectarian and exclusive character of the Orphic cult at Athens is doubtless the reason why Orphic subjects are so little represented among the Athenian art types, since no great artist would probably have had them prominently before his notice. The result of this was that the humbler artists who dealt with these subjects had no great traditional types already created to fall back upon, and were forced to create for themselves. Hence it is probable that painters like that of our vase would have drawn his ideas direct from what he had seen, the moralities or miracle plays (*δρώμενα*) which we know to have played an important part in the Orphic cult.<sup>1</sup> According to Herodotos, v. 67, the misfortunes of Adrastos were celebrated at Sikyon in cyclic choruses. Kleisthenes, he says, substituted for the cult of Adrastos that of Dionysos, in whose honour he prescribed choruses representing the passion (*τὰ πάθηα*) of the god. Moreover, Pausanias (viii. 37, 5) says that the Orphic myths related *τὰ παθήματα* of Zagreus; so that there evidently was no lack of dramatic material to be drawn upon by the artist had he chosen.

The occurrence of a Zagreus myth is, I believe, unique among Greek vase-paintings. In the *Gazette Archéologique*, v. (1879) p. 28, pl. 3, Lenormant published a late r. f. kylix, which he explains as referring to this myth. On the interior a woman is seated, holding in her lap a diminutive human figure with a bull's head; this group he interprets as Persephone with Zagreus on her knee; connecting this scene with the subjects on the exterior of the same kylix, in which Satyrs and Maenads dance, the Maenads holding fragments of human limbs. I think Lenormant is certainly wrong. His identification rests mainly on the relation of the three scenes; but in late r. f. kylikes such a relation of subject between the exterior and interior is rare; the usual practice being to have in the interior a definite subject, and to leave the exterior for meaningless athlete subjects or Bacchic subjects, as here; if these exterior scenes have any mythical significance, it is to the Pentheus rather than to the Zagreus legend. In any case the epithets *ταυρόκερως*, &c., applied to Dionysos are not sufficient to warrant us in identifying a definite Minotaur type with Zagreus;<sup>2</sup> especially as on the one other distinct Zagreus scene<sup>3</sup> he is represented as an ordinary human child. An infant Minotaur is a conception that might well have suggested itself in an age which knew the Centaur picture of Zeuxis.

<sup>1</sup> See J. E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, p. cxviii.

<sup>2</sup> For the same reason Stephani's explanation of the Venice relief (*C. R.* 1863 p. 119) as

Persephone and Zagreus cannot be accepted.

<sup>3</sup> Muller-Wieseler, *Denkm.* ii. No. 413; see Heydemann, *Dionysos-Geburt*, p. 55.

The personality of Orpheus comes but rarely into Greek art; on vases we have the descent into Hades, but this is only on late paintings which are connected with a series of representations of the underworld, in fact, the Eurydike legend appears to have very little connection with the Orphic legends proper. Apart from this, we have two main types, viz. (A) Orpheus playing to Thracians, (B) his death at the hands of Thracian women. Heydemann collected (*Arch. Zeit.* 1868, p. 3) the series of vases then known on which these subjects are shown. To his list may be added:—

(1) The Akropolis kylix published *J. H. S.* ix. pl. 6.

(2) A r. f. amphora in the British Museum, E 373 (old. Cat. 994, where it is wrongly described as Achilles among the Myrmidons); fine style, but without inner markings. *Obv.* Orpheus in Greek dress, seated on rock playing lyre and singing with head thrown back, between two Thracian men, in zeira and alopeke; the Thracians are beardless, but one has slight whiskers. *Rev.* Draped figures (*Mantelfiguren*).

(3) 'Nolan' amphora in B.M. E 334. *Obv.* Orpheus (mantle over shoulders, long hair looped up in Ionic style) falls to r. holding lyre in l. hand, r. extended towards a Thracian woman on the l., who has driven a spit through his body. She wears a talaric chiton, and has a mantle wound shield-fashion round her extended l. arm; she brandishes a second spit. *Rev.* A second Thracian woman of similar type, brandishing a spit. Both the Thracian women have the forearm and the lower part of the leg tattooed with a linear pattern.

Now if we examine the *Museo Borbonico* vase already quoted, we shall see that the complete type is there given, of which the other instances are as it were excerpts. The complete type unites the three successive moments, viz. (a) Orpheus leading the Thracian men, who are accompanied by their horses; (b) Orpheus seated playing to Thracian men; (c) the death of Orpheus.

The combination of three moments suggests a kylix, since this form of vase offers the most suitable spacing for a trilogy. It fortunately happens that of the Akropolis cup just sufficient is preserved to enable us to identify the subjects on the exterior as well as the interior; on the upper side (as given *J. H. S.* ix. pl. 6) we have the legs of a horse, the feet of a seated figure (Orpheus), and the upper part of a Thracian wearing zeira and alopeke, who, if the fragment is properly placed, has not room to stand upright, and must therefore also be seated. On the reverse we have the hind feet of a horse, and the leg and foot of a figure wearing the high boot which also formed part of the Thracian costume: I would suggest that this corresponds in our typology with type (a); the other exterior scene is type (b); and the interior, the culmination of the tragedy, is type (c).

Now whether or no this kylix is attributable to Euphronios (I am inclined to think it is), it is undoubtedly from the hand of one of the great masters of the Epiktetic cycle, and dates from about B.C. 500. The rest of the series, those of Heydemann and those given above, are red-figured vases, mostly, if not all, of the latter part of the fifth and beginning of the fourth

century. It is remarkable how closely the original type is adhered to; thus for instance, the obverse of the Nolan amphora B.M. E 334 is almost exactly the same as the interior scene of the Akropolis kylix.

Dümmeler has suggested (*Arch. Jahrb.* ii. p. 175) that the great scenes of the Iliupersis found on the works of Euphronios and Brygos must have originated, not in a vase painter's studio, but rather in one of the great painters of the sixth century.<sup>1</sup> The same may possibly be true of our subject; otherwise it is difficult to account for the vitality and fixity of the types. Unhappily, history is silent as to the existence of any great work of art dealing with this subject.

CECIL SMITH.

P.S.—Since the above was printed, Furtwängler has kindly sent me his interesting paper in the *Winckelmann's Programm* for 1890 (*Orpheus, Attische Vase aus Gela*, Taf. II.). He proposes therein to refer the vase-painters' types of Orpheus with Thracians, and of Orpheus' death, to one common origin in the *Bassarides* of Aeschylos; suggesting that Aeschylos inspired the conception, and Polygnotos created the art-form of it. The Akropolis cup makes this difficult to accept; whether it be from the pre-Persian stratum or not (see *ibid.* p. 35, note 15), it must surely date from before B.C. 480, and therefore have preceded the production of the *Bassarides*.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Aus der Antiqu.* p. 174.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**W. M. Ramsay—The Historical Geography of Asia Minor.**

THIS remarkable work by Prof. W. M. Ramsay is published by the Royal Geographical Society, of whose 'Supplementary Papers' it forms Vol. IX. It is a substantial volume of nearly five hundred pages, accompanied by maps and tables. The reader must not expect to find in it a complete handbook or dictionary of the geography of Asia Minor, for the author has purposely excluded details that are 'accessible in the ordinary sources of information.' Prof. Ramsay has preferred—and no doubt wisely—to produce a work which is a storehouse of new and unpublished information, of original suggestion, and of first-hand investigation both of the sites and of the original sources. The book consists of two Parts, of which the first, under the heading 'General Principles' (pp. 23—88), contains some highly suggestive and interesting discussions of several topics—more especially the Trade Routes and Road Systems of Asia Minor (the Royal [Persian] Road, the Eastern Trade Route, the Roman Roads, the Byzantine Roads). Another important section of this Part discusses the value of the Peutinger Table, Ptolemy and the Itineraries as geographical authorities. Prof. Ramsay rates the Table much lower than Dr. Konrad Müller and other writers. The Table and Ptolemy, when in agreement, 'may be used as corroborative evidence or to supply gaps,' but where they are at variance with the Byzantine Lists, Strabo, &c., 'their value is naught.' The authority of Hierocles, on the other hand, is very highly estimated by Prof. Ramsay, who has come to the conclusion that this compiler used an ecclesiastical list of the period, which he did not simply reproduce but collated with other evidence.

Part II. (pp. 89—426), which constitutes the bulk of the work, deals principally with the cities and bishoprics of the various provinces and divisions of Asia Minor, and treats also of the Roman roads and, incidentally, of a number of chronological and historical questions. From the enormous mass of new material here presented—often in a very much compressed form—it would be hardly possible to select details that could be adequately discussed within the limits of a short review: in the sections that we have especially tested we can bear testimony to the masterly array of evidence drawn from literary, epigraphic and—what are too often neglected—numismatic sources. A rather formidable list of Addenda occupies pp. 427—460, and a further list is given at the end of the Preface (Prolegomena). These lists, however, are chiefly based on information that has become available since the author printed off the earlier portion of his work, and we are glad that he has not withheld them. The book has a general index, and four other indexes, one of them being of the ancient authors quoted in the text of

Part II. Lists of the cities of Asia and other provinces, &c., are given in a tabular form, and six maps are provided. The whole work bears the impress of Prof. Ramsay's remarkable topographical knowledge and instinct, and of his minute and laborious researches, especially in the Byzantine and other little read authorities.

W. W.

**Die attischen Grabreliefs, herausgegeben im Auftrage der K. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Wien. Von A. CONZE.**

THE *Corpus of Attic Sepulchral Reliefs* was begun in 1860 by Prof. Michaelis, undertaken by the Vienna Academy in 1873, and carried out by Dr. Conze, with the aid of Dr. Brückner and others, and by means of a grant from the German Archaeological Institute.

The present Part, the first of eighteen in which the work is to be completed, includes all Attic sepulchral reliefs and paintings earlier than the Persian wars, and the beginning of the reliefs of the second period which comes down to the time of Demetrius Phalereus. It contains twenty-five plates, mostly photographic, but a few executed in lithography. To speak of the value of a work of this kind is superfluous.

P. G.

**Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsnamen. KONRAD WERNICKE.**

THIS most useful brochure contains lists of all Greek vases bearing the inscription *καλός* or *καλή*. The first chapter treats of those cases in which the epithet refers to the person depicted on the vase; the second of those cases in which it occurs in conjunction with a woman's name. Then come full lists of occurrences on various classes of vases of the word *καλός* in connexion with male names. Finally, we have some general results. Mr. Wernicke shows that these inscriptions are nearly all in the Attic dialect and belong to the period 550—450 B.C. As to their meaning he does not express a very decided opinion. 'In fact the inscription *καλός* had very various significations; in some cases it conveys the satisfaction of the artist with himself, in others it refers to figures in the design—Gods, Heroes, or Hetaerae; when it refers to actual persons these are sometimes obscure favourites of the vase-painter, sometimes young aristocrats of whose beauty and pranks the whole town was gossiping.'

P. G.

**F. Imhoof-Blumer, Griechische Münzen. Munich. 1890. (Reprinted from the *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der K. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Bd. XVIII.)**

THIS volume is in every way worthy of its learned author's great reputation, and contains as did his *Monnaies grecques*, published in 1883, a mass of new and interesting material selected from Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's apparently inexhaustible stores. From the historical point of view, probably the most important part of the work is a section dealing with the coinage of Pontus, which sets forth, *inter alia*, the author's views as to the various Eras employed on the Imperial money of



Pontic cities. According to Dr. Imhoof-Blumer the Eras are: Amasia, B.C. 2 (not B.C. 7); Kerasus, A.D. 64; Komana, A.D. 35. The Era of Amisus dates (as Prof. W. M. Ramsay has also proved independently (cf. Wroth, *B. M. Cat. Pontus*, &c., p. xxi.) from B.C. 31 (the Battle of Actium), and not from B.C. 33 as formerly supposed. The town of Dia in Bithynia, believed till now to have been one of the mint-places of Mithradates the Great, is shown not to have issued money, and the coins are assigned to Kabeira (in Pontus) under the name of Dia. Another important section of the work deals with the early coinage of the Cyclades. It is pointed out that the coins usually attributed to the town of Poiessa in Keos have been mis-read and must be withdrawn from it. The archaic money of Keos is re-arranged. In that island, Karthaea and Koressia had each a distinct coinage, with amphora and sepia types respectively, while a third town, Iulis, is now provided with early money, consisting of the coins with grapes and dolphin type, formerly attributed to Karthaea. From Karthaea also are withdrawn, in favour of Tenos, the coins with the type, bunch of grapes. Tenos was already known to have issued money from the fourth century B.C., and Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has now well indicated where we are to look for its coinage previous to that period. The coinage of Antioch in Syria is another series to which the author devotes special and much-needed attention. He gives an excellent description of coins of the time of Caracalla, which, though usually attributed to Antioch, really belong to several Syrian mints. Among the places in Asia Minor of which coins are described, the following—to make only a small selection—may here be noticed:—*Chios*. Silver coin with the remarkable inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΔΩΡΟ[Ν]. This piece belongs, as Dr. Imhoof-Blumer points out, to the first century A.D., and its inscription cannot, therefore, refer (as often supposed) to one of the Seleucid kings, Antiochus I., II., or III. The coin was probably struck from the proceeds of a present made to Chios by Antiochus IV., the rich king of Commagene, A.D. 38—72.

W. W.

**S. N. Svoronos—Numismatique de la Crète ancienne.** Part I. (Text and Plates). Macon. 1890.

In this remarkable work M. Svoronos has undertaken the task of producing a *corpus* of Cretan coins accompanied by an elaborate commentary, geographical, historical and mythological. Part I., which now lies before us, contains a substantial instalment of the whole, consisting as it does of full descriptive lists of the coinages of Crete, together with introductory notices of the history and topography of every city in the island known to have issued money. The book is issued in a sumptuous form, and is published, it is interesting to note, by the Cretan Assembly. It is most fully illustrated by an atlas of 35 plates giving excellent photographs of no less than 1,088 specimens. M. Svoronos is most heartily to be congratulated upon the publication of a work for which he has prepared himself by visiting nearly every important coin-cabinet in Europe, and upon which he has evidently brought to bear no common knowledge and enthusiasm. The present Part appeals principally to numismatists, but it contains matter that will be interesting also to students of epigraphy and archaeologists, and leads both numismatists and archaeologists to look forward to the appearance of the Commentary in Part II.

W. W.

**Griechische Geschichte.** Dritter Band. Von ADOLF HOLM. Berlin, 1891.

THOSE who are acquainted with the earlier volumes of this work will require for the new one no further recommendation than the assurance that it is fully worthy of its predecessors. The period treated extends from the end of the Peloponnesian War to the death of Alexander. Even where he is travelling on beaten ground, Dr. Holm, by his wonderful power of assimilating into his history all manner of old and new material, literary and archaeological, and by his terse and vigorous narration, intermixed with apt and suggestive analogies, is constantly adding to our knowledge or placing facts in a new light. For the latter part, the deficiencies of Grote and of most other English writers render a history of this kind peculiarly desirable for English people. The period is one 'welche durch die vielfach umstrittene Bedeutung hervorragender Männer interessant ist,' and the results of Dr. Holm's studies of prominent characters are in many ways striking. Among them may be mentioned a vindication of the impartiality of Xenophon, a sketch of the Spartan (not Pan-Hellenic) character of Agesilaus, a demonstration of the groundlessness of the charges brought against Eubulus, a lowering of the ordinary estimate of the far-seeing patriotism of Demosthenes, a more favourable judgment than that usually passed upon Philip, and a genuine appreciation of the greatness of Alexander, both as man, general, and politician. There is an important and interesting chapter on the political and moral state of Athens about the year 360, in which some of the charges of speedy demoralization brought against the people are shown not to be well-founded. As in the other volumes, discussions on doubtful points and on the relative values of authorities are relegated to the notes appended to each chapter, which are in this volume of special value. There are very important notes applying numismatic material to the elucidation of the second Athenian Confederacy, the state of Sicily and Italy during and after the rule of Dionysius, and the relations of various states under Alexander. At the end is a very interesting little disquisition on Greek Public Law, with an examination of the exact meaning of the terms ἀρχή, ἡγεμονία, and ποροστάτης.

A. G.

**A History of the Later Roman Empire, from Arcadius to Irene.**  
By J. B. BURY, M.A.

THIS book may be said to supply, in part at least, a long-felt need, though the task attempted is so great as to require a nineteenth-century Gibbon for its adequate fulfilment. The work deals primarily with what is popularly called the Byzantine Empire—a term indignantly repudiated by Mr. Bury, who, being in many respects a follower of Prof. Freeman, regards it as misleading as well as suggestive of the unpleasant associations which Mr. Lecky and others attach to it as 'universal verdicts of history.'

Mr. Bury shows great self-command in treating but lightly those parts—like the campaigns of Belisarius in Italy, which have already been sufficiently set forth by competent modern historians (*e.g.* Mr. Hodgkin and Mr. Finlay in England, and Dr. Dahn in Germany)—in order to concentrate all his attention on the darker regions, such as the Avar, Lazic, and Persian wars and the administrative reforms of the Isaurian emperors. This plan, however, gives a certain want of perspective to the whole. As an example, we may mention that in a work of more than a

thousand pages the legal work of Justinian is dismissed in six and a half. Yet the general importance of the Empire during the centuries for which it has commonly been ignored is strikingly brought home even to the cursory reader, who must learn to appreciate the great service it rendered in bearing the brunt of the Avar, Saracen, and other Asiatic invasions, and in keeping up commercial routes as well as traditions of Greek and Roman culture.

In general arrangement a comparison is made between logical and chronological order, which involves short chapters and a rather disjointed effect. The disadvantage of this method is partly obviated by good tables and indices. A few maps would make the chapters on geography clearer, as a few engravings would much increase the value of the chapter (by Mrs. Bury) on Byzantine art.

The most defective part of the work, perhaps, is that which deals with Church affairs. Some of the generalizations and analogies are not in excellent taste, nor very far reaching. But we must allow that while Mr. Bury abhors a theological atmosphere, he tries to do full justice to individual theologians and ecclesiastics.

Perhaps the most interesting and important parts of the book are those which deal with the successive changes in imperial and local administration, such as the chapter on *Themes*—the origin of which is traced to Justinian's combinations of civil with military authority—and that on the *Ecloga* of Leo III. In treating of the character and objects of the leading political personages Mr. Bury sometimes takes new and striking views. This especially applies to his sketch of the demagogic Tiberius II., the energetic Constans II., and the enigmatical Justinian II., perhaps a conscious imitator of his greater namesake. The riddle of Justinian and Theodora Mr. Bury can hardly be said to have solved. He follows Von Ranke in regarding the *Arcana* as *not* the work of Procopius, yet he thinks that the scandals contained in it must rest on some basis of fact.

Among interesting and suggestive points we would mention the importance attached to the threat of Heraclius to transfer the centre of administration to Carthage, as marking a turning-point for the better in the Empire; the influence of the Slavonic nations in abolishing serfdom in the East; the moral and physical significance of pestilences like those of 542 and 745 A.D., and the destructive results of that love of art which often collects together priceless works to perish in a common conflagration.

We may note a few small points in which Mr. Bury seems to be mistaken. He says (Vol. I. p. 123) that Eudoxia was the first Roman Empress who received the title Augusta. We think it was borne by Julia Domna. In describing the revolt of the Goths under Arcadius, it seems to us unsafe to depend for details, and even for a masked leader, on an allegorical work like *The Egyptians* of Synesius.

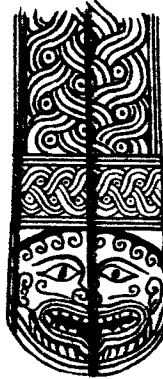
The style is unfortunately abrupt in places, and statements are occasionally made with a bluntness that verges on brutality. Yet in spite of minor drawbacks, the work helps to fill a great gap, and we give it a sincere welcome. A. G.



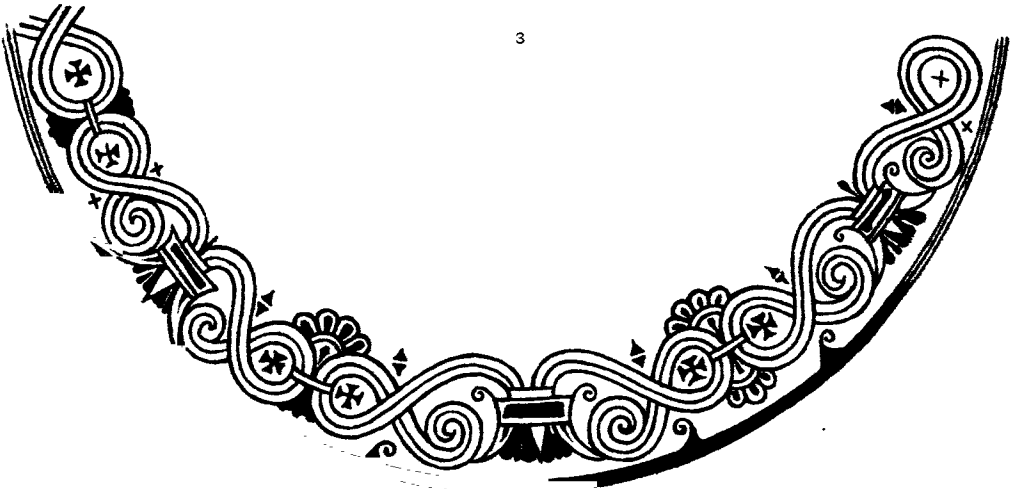
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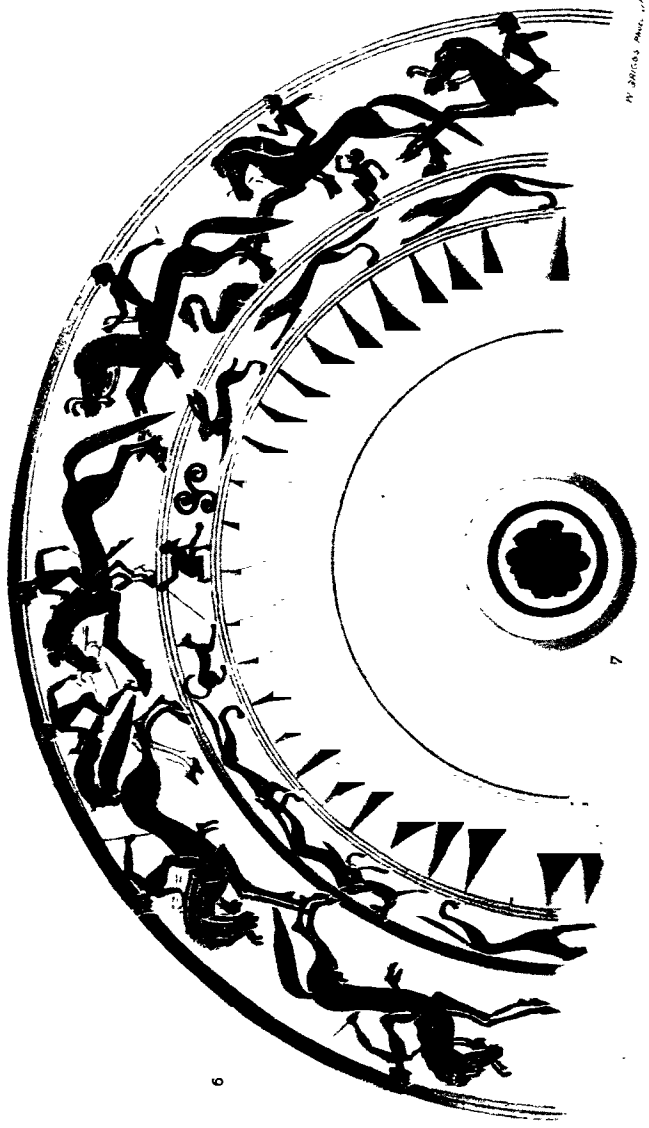


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CORINTHIAN LEKYTHOS.

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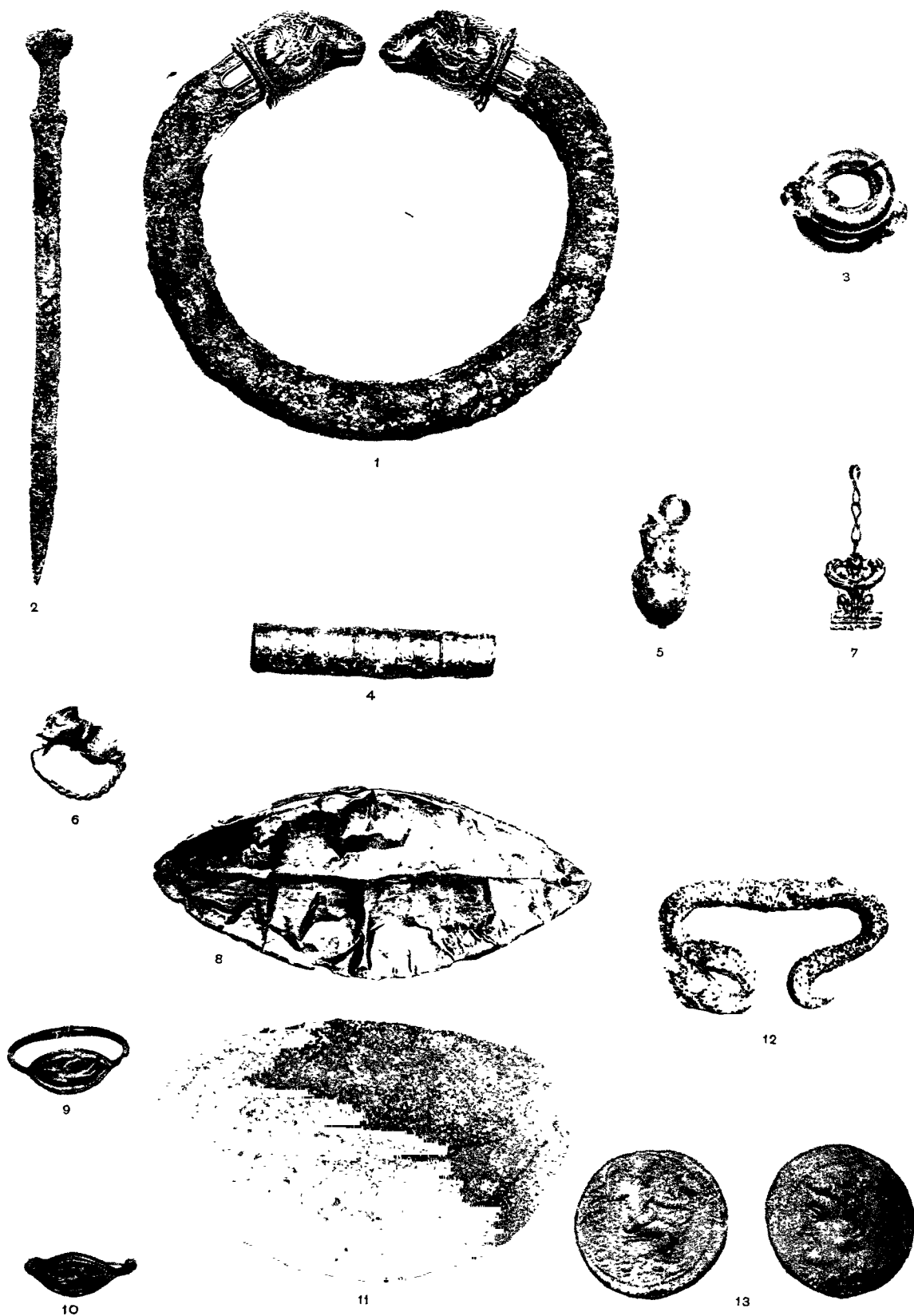






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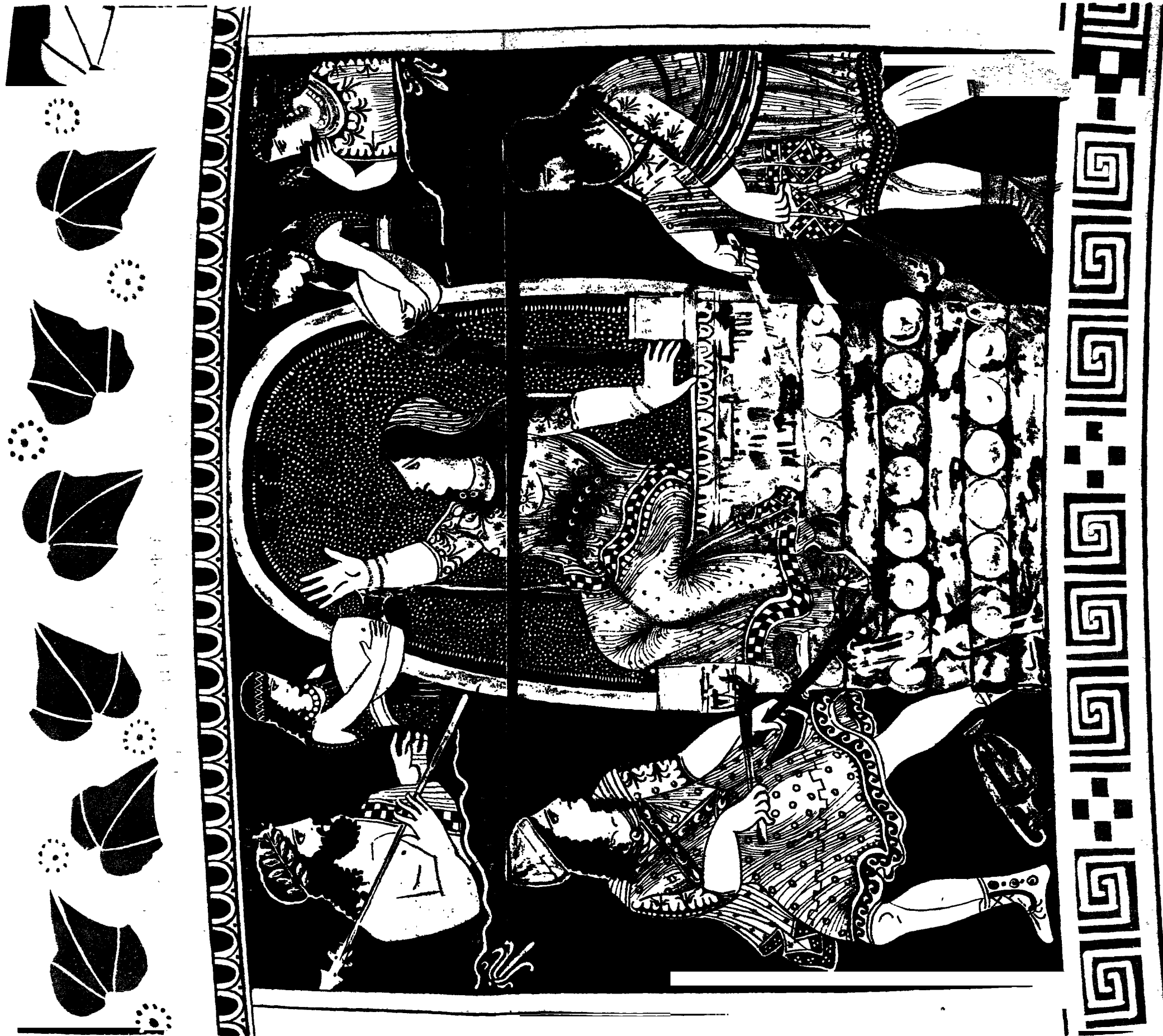




JEWELLERY, &c. FROM POLIS TES CHRYSOCHOU.







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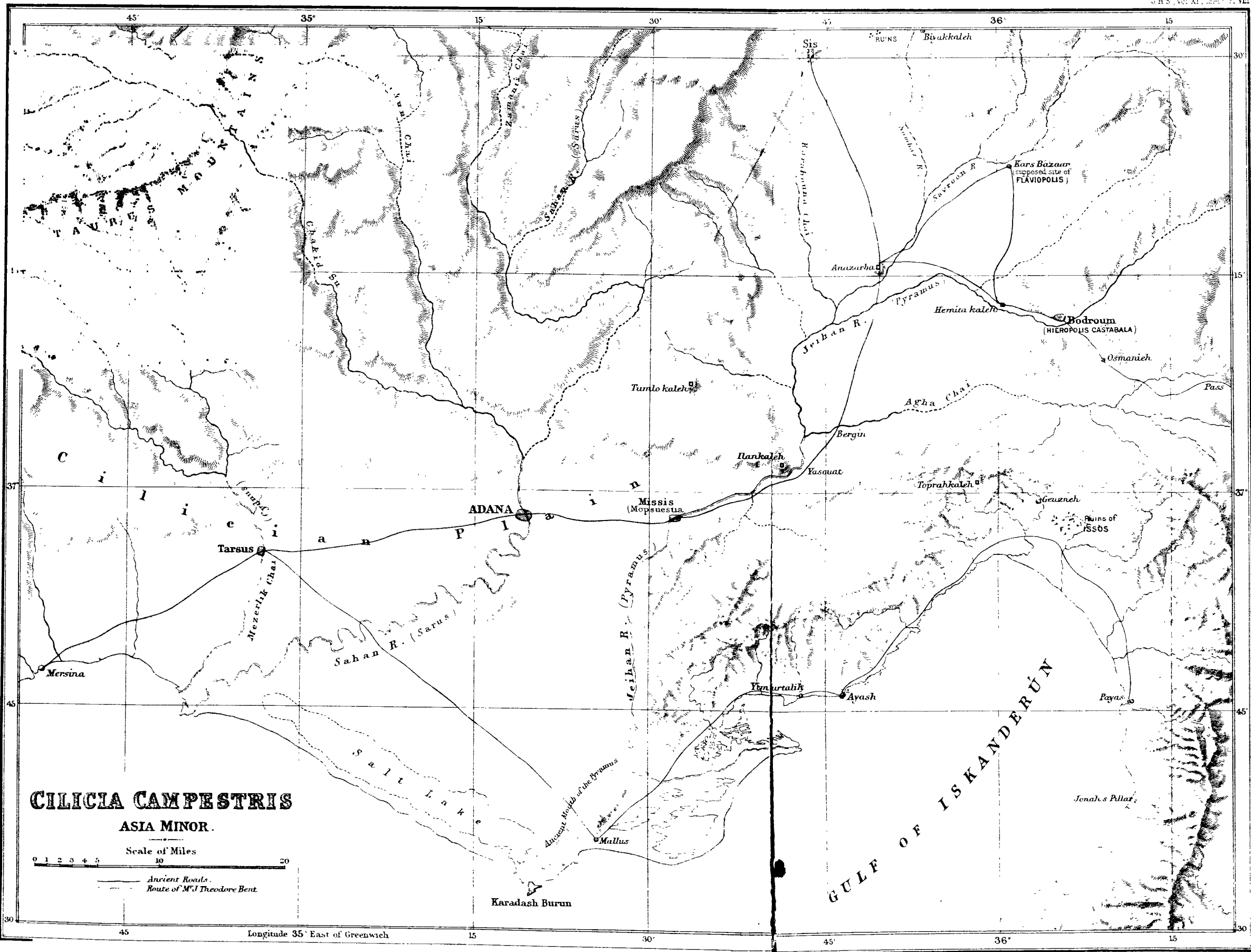






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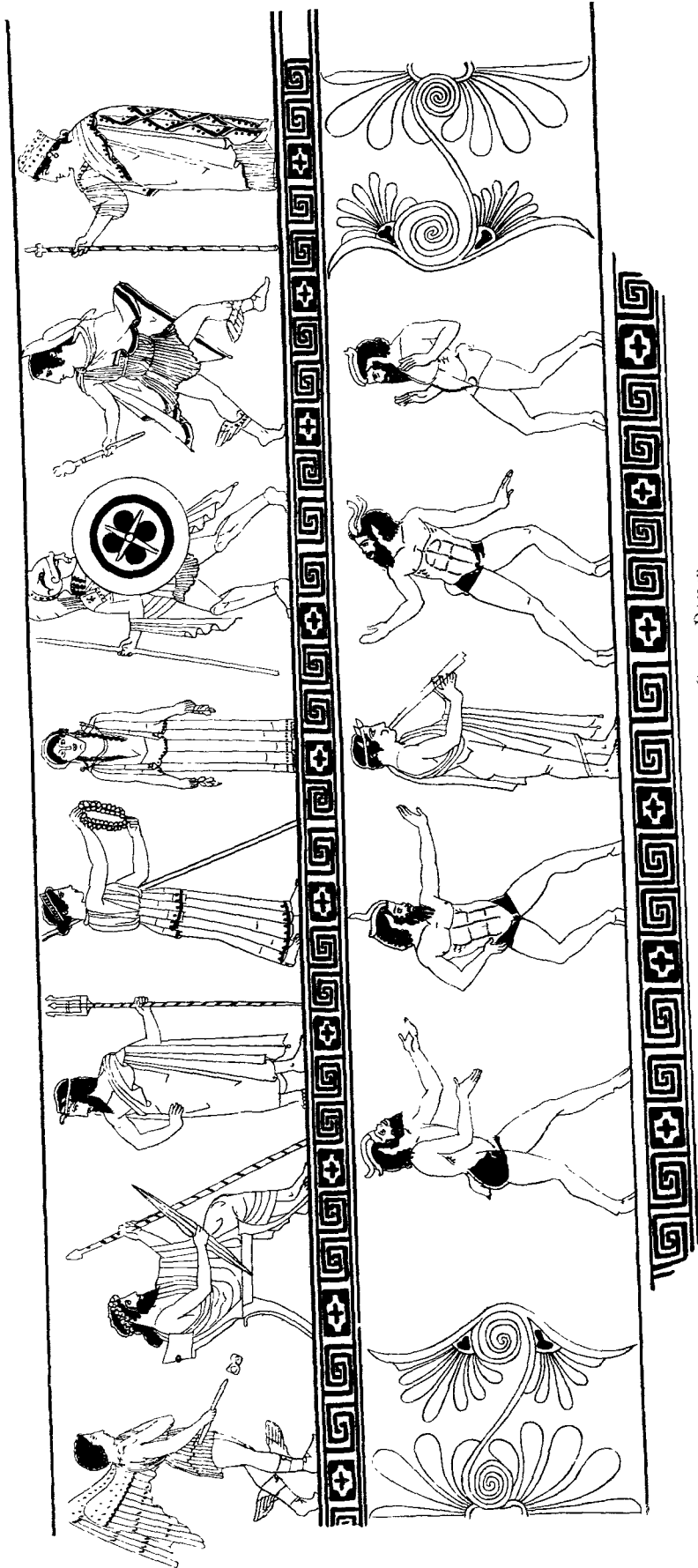
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† ἰρ μὲν ἄ τιν' στέφεται μῦθ' αὖ τιν' οὐ μῖξ  
 μου μου. ἀλλὰ. κατὰ αὖ αὖ ταῦτι αὖτ'  
 εὐ υγ λ β δ η η  
 ὅτ' καρ δερ ἡρ ἱρ ἱσιν τιν' δὲ φσ  
 δ λ ο ρ δ ἱ ρ ο ρ  
 ὅσιν τὰ τὰς πρὶ ἐπὶ οὐμ πὶ το μεν  
 // ÷ ω τ ζ ρ + ε  
 ὅρ' ὡς θυ λαί μοι καὶ τῶν τοιῶ ἱκ  
 ο ρ + λ ζ λ τὸ τὸ  
 ἔναι ἱκ τὸς εὐ ὑπερτασ καὶ τοῦ  
 τὸς σφρ σφρ αὖ χαλ' ἐν αὖ μοι  
 τὸς ε ω ἱ ρ ζ λ  
 καρ' καὶ τοι  
 γ η ρ  
 ἡλῶ  
 ὅ περ ἴδ' ἄλλοι καὶ βρῶ ὡ παύσαν  
 πληροῦσι πολλὰ καὶ πύρρα  
 παῖδ' εἰ τ' ἐνὶ μὲν δαίμων βυτρεχόν  
 ἄλλ' ἰδὲν καὶ ὁλόθ' ὡς δὲ  
 μή πως μὲν γινώσκει ἄρ' αὖ μὲν φσ τε



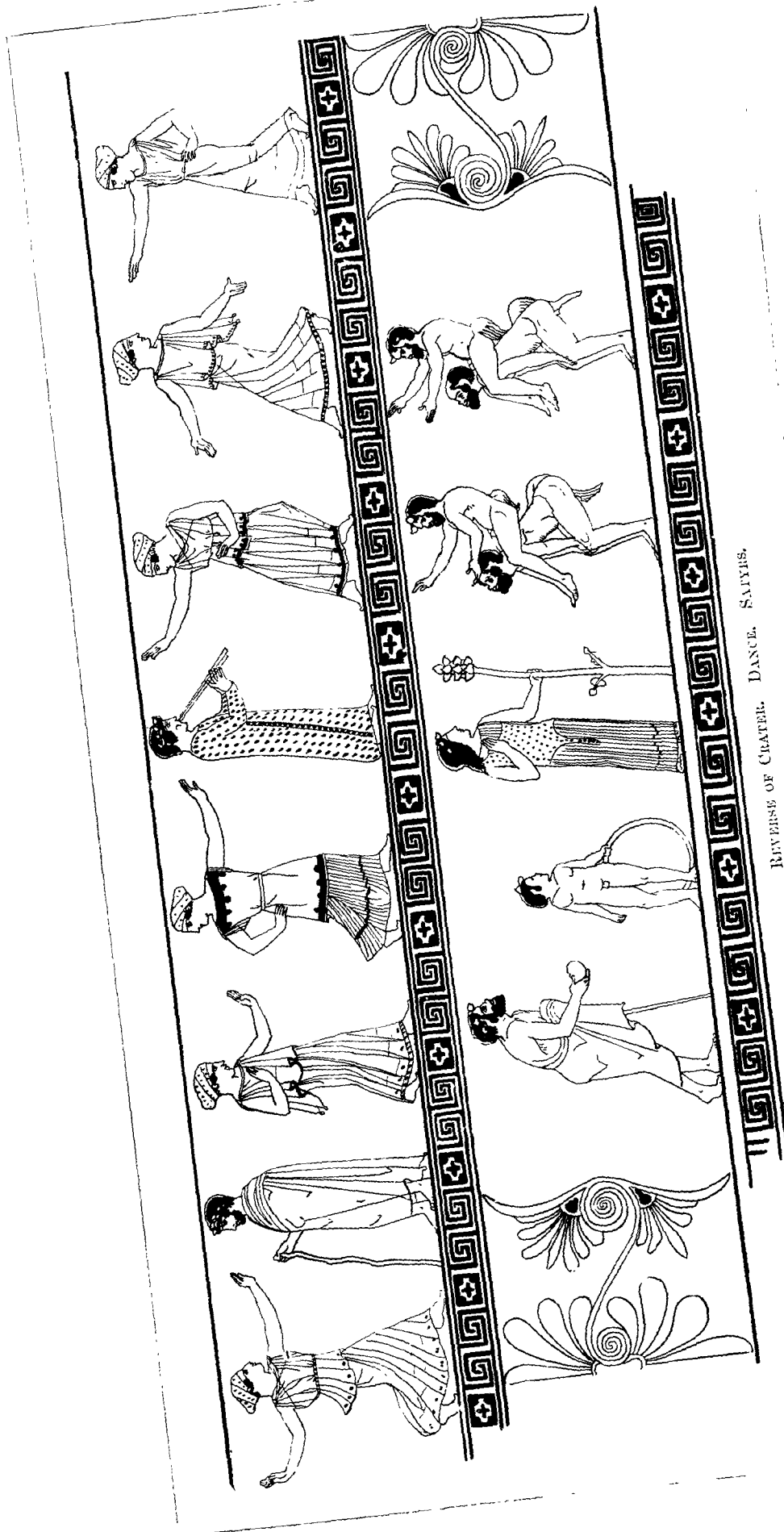






CHATER. BIRTH OF PANDORA. COMIC DANCE.



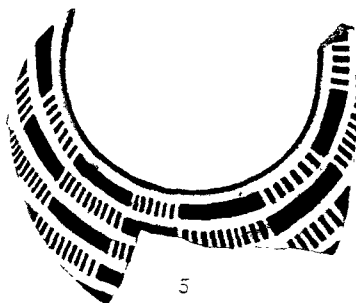
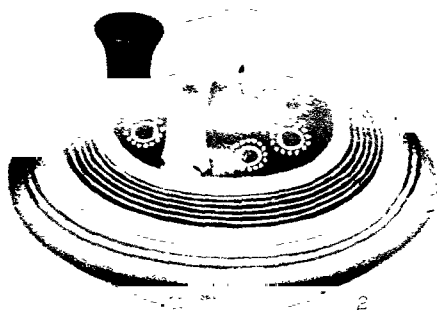


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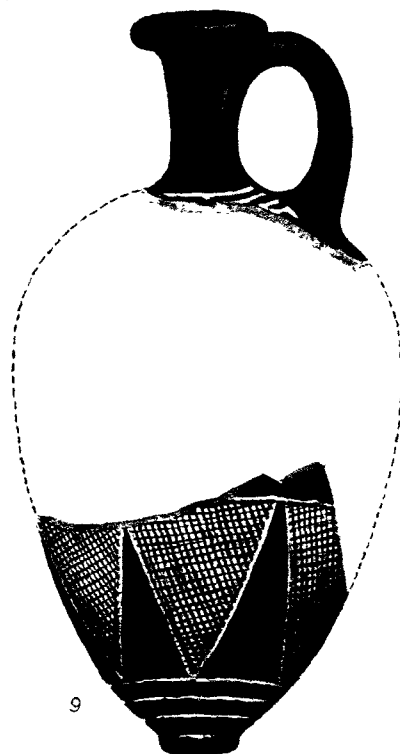


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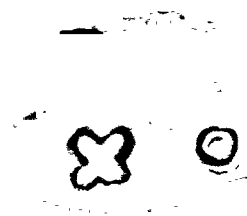
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